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CONTENTS

Memorial to a Timeless Man *by Emily S. Adams* 9

The Confederate Constitution: A Legal and Historical Examination *by Roger D. Hardaway* 18

Alabama's Reconstruction Representatives in the U. S. Congress, 1868-1878: A Profile *by Thomas J. Davis* 32

"My Relatives Are Leaving Me Very Fast": War Time Letters of James Wright to His Nephew *edited by George L. Mahoney* 50

Bert Henderson: Deep South Philosopher *by Irma R. Cruse* 70

From Tennessee to Texas — Through Alabama: The 1860 Diary of William Joseph Camp *edited by William R. Snell* 92

To Tuscaloosa and Beyond: A Union Cavalry Raider in Alabama, March-April 1865 *edited by Edward G. Longacre* 109

An 1858 View on Historical Preservation in Mobile *by Jack D. L. Holmes* 123

BOOK REVIEWS

Carlson, George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness: The Wallace Campaigns for the Presidency, 1964-1976 *by James P. Cooper, Jr.* 125

Dawson, Army Generals and Reconstruction: Louisiana, 1862-1877 *by J. Herschel Barnhill* 127

Duram, Dwight D. Eisenhower and the School Desegregation Crisis, A Moderate Among Extremists, *by William M. Simmons* 128

Folmar, (Editor), From That Terrible Field: Civil War Letters of James M. Williams, Twenty-First Alabama Infantry Volunteers, *by Frank Allen Dennis* 131

McLaurin and Thomason, The Image of Progress: Alabama Photographs, 1872-1917 *by Paul Pruitt* 132

Owsley, Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans, 1812-1815, *by Robert R. Rea* 134

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INDUSTRIAL TERMINAL

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

IN MEMORY OF

MILO BARRETT HOWARD, JR.

Director

Alabama State Department

of Archives and History

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MILO BARRETT HOWARD, JR.

It was my happy privilege to have been a member of the Board of Trustees of the Alabama Department of Archives and History when in 1967 Milo Barrett Howard, Jr. was elevated to the position of Director of that important arm of State Government. He first began working at the Alabama Archives in 1952 while Mrs. Marie Bankhead Owen was directing its activities. Subsequently in 1958 he became a staff member during the time Mr. Peter A. Brannon was the Alabama Archives Director.

Milo Howard graduated from Auburn University with a B.A. degree and later earned an M.A. degree from the same Institution. Livingston University conferred an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters degree upon him in recognition of his contribution to the education and happiness of the people of his native state.

Howard was born in Montgomery, October 21, 1933, where he attended public schools and was graduated from Sidney Lanier High School. He loved the people of the city in which he first saw the light of day. Indeed it was difficult to pose a historical question relating to Montgomery and Alabama that he could not answer. His inquisitive mind collected and maintained a remarkable range of facts and fancy.

His tall, svelte figure attired in well tailored clothes with a gold headed walking cane in hand attracted immediate attention. His bland, cultured voice was heard and appreciated in almost every nook and corner of the commonwealth about which he was so knowledgeable.

Milo Howard was ever aware of the contributions his associates at the Alabama Archives made for the preservation, display and protection of valuable items placed in their, and his, custody. He delighted in telling of his fellow workers' capabilities and their loyalties. He considered the group a team.

On November 3, 1981, following an illness of ten weeks, he passed on to his reward. During all the years I knew Milo Howard he was an outstanding and an upstanding Southern

gentleman. It is in his memory that this issue of the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* is dedicated.

Statement of C. J. Coley
Chairman of the Board of Trustees,
Alabama Department of Archives and History

September 13, 1982

MEMORIAL TO A TIMELESS MAN

by Emily S. Adams

Milo Barrett Howard, Jr., director of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History from 1967 to 1981, once declared that "In this department, we don't consider that all history has led up to our time. We recognize that history is a present and future phenomena as well.[1] I'm like a mother with her children. She's most interested at the time in the one who needs the most attention. That's the way I am with the department, and the contents are my children."[2]

His principal concerns were in the area of state and local history guiding researchers in the use of the raw materials of Alabama history, stimulating interest in studying local history, and relating local and state history to national and international history. He was one of the prime figures in preserving historic sites and structures in Alabama, and he was also an important supporter of cultural endeavors in Montgomery and Alabama.[3]

He has been called a bookworm, appearing to have been born to be director of the State Archives. He was frequently and regularly called upon by researchers in urgent need of illumination on some historical point and with patience and good cheer he would ferret out the facts if they were anywhere possible to be found. Alabama's Department of Archives and History is regarded by scholars of history to be one of the most valuable sources of history in or about the South.[4]

Born in Montgomery on October 21, 1933, he was the son of Milo Barrett Howard and Mary Josepha Key.[5] Mr. Howard's great great grandfather, Neill Blue, came to Montgomery in 1819 and in 1825 lived on the same land that is presently oc-

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[1]"Visitors to Archives Building Seldom See Real 'Inner Sanctum'," *Alabama Journal,* April 16, 1967.
[2]"This is Their South," *Southern Living,* May 1972.
[3]Notes in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files in the Alabama Department of Archives and History.
[4]"The Archives are in Good Hands," *Alabama Journal,* January 23, 1967.
[5]"Memoranda for Biographical Sketch," in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files in the Archives.

cupied by the Archives building, giving Mr. Howard unique ties to the land.[6] Earlier ancestors had lived in Baltimore, Maryland; Augusta, Georgia; and Macon County, Alabama.[7] Milo Barrett, his grandfather, was the owner of the *Montgomery Advertiser* in 1864 and 1865.[8]

Mr. Howard attended Montgomery schools through high school: Decatur Street Grammar School, Baldwin Junior High School, and Sidney Lanier High School. In 1951 he entered the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn and in 1955 received a Bachelor of Arts degree with majors in history, English, and foreign language.[9] The J. A. Kirkly Award in English was presented to him in 1954 by Alabama Polytechnic Institute.[10] On March 15, 1960 he earned his masters of arts in history and became the first person to graduate with a regular diploma from Auburn University[11] which had been newly created by the Legislature in recognition of its broadened academic program out of Alabama Polytechnic Institute.[12] He attended Jones Law School in Montgomery from 1963-1964.[13] In 1978 he received an honorary doctor of humane letters from Livingston University in honor of his contributions to the teaching, writing and preservation of Alabama history.[14]

While a student in college Mr. Howard worked at the Archives during summer vacations beginning in 1952 and except for his tour of duty in the United States Army Reserve continued at the Archives until his death.[15] From 1955 to 1957 he served in the United States Army Reserve as a lieutenant in Military Intelligence. In 1958 he returned to the Archives as an Archivist and in 1964 was promoted to Assistant Director.[16]

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[6]"Milo Howard, Jr. Heads State Archives: Named Successor to Late Dr. Peter Brannon," *Alabama Journal,* January 20, 1967.
[7]Letter from Milo B. Howard to William Crawford of June 22, 1967 held in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files at the Archives.
[8]"Milo B. Howard: Journal Closeup," *Alabama Journal,* October 23, 1967.
[9]"Memoranda for Biographical Sketch."
[10]"Auburn University. Record of Applicant," Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files at the Archives.
[11]"University's First Graduate," *Auburn Alumnus,* March 1960.
[12]Coleman B. Ransone, Jr., *Alabama Government Manual,* (University, Alabama: Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, 1977) 129.
[13]"Auburn University, Record of Applicant," Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files at the Archives.
[14]"Howard Receives Degree," *Montgomery Advertiser,* June 6, 1978.
[15]*Alabama Journal,* January 20, 1967.
[16]"Memoranda for Biographical Sketch."

On November 17, 1966, he became acting director due to the illness of Peter A. Brannon[17] and on January 21, 1967 was appointed director.[18] Some of his legal responsibilities were: to administer state archives, military records, noncurrent county records, and a historical library; to collect historical portraits and museums; to distribute state official reports; to prepare the *Alabama Official and Statistical Register;* to edit the *Alabama Historical Quarterly* and other historical publications, and to select and delineate historic sites for monumental purposes.[19]

One of his major achievements was the building of the east wing of the Archives Building. Thomas M. Owen, the first director, began the Archives and History operations in the cloak room of the Senate in the State Capitol. When the south wing of the Capitol was built, half of the basement and half of the top floor were given over for the Archives' location and were quickly overflowing with documents. From there the Archives collection moved to an old brick church and four residences on the block now occupied by the current building. These five buildings were soon bulging with historical documents,[20] and in the 1930's Marie Bankhead Owen secured federal funds to supplement state funds for a new building. According to legend, which may or may not be accurate, Mrs. Owen telephoned Harry Hopkins, head of the WPA, and bluntly demanded a new building. He said: "Madam, we can't just go around building buildings. We've got to have a reason." "Well," shot back Mrs. Owen, "My brothers are John Bankhead and Will Bankhead." To which Mr. Hopkins replied, "Those are two of the best reasons I ever heard."[21] The new Alabama World War Memorial Building opened on National Flag Day, June 14, 1940. The original plans for the building included two wings which could be added when needed and when funds became available.[22]

In addition to its museums and historical collections the

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[17]*Alabama Journal,* January 20, 1967.
[18]*Alabama Journal,* October 23, 1967.
[19]1975 *Code of Alabama* § 41-6-8.
[20]"Permanent Home for Department of Archives and History," *Alabama Historical Quarterly,* 2 (1940) 9.
[21]*Alabama Journal,* January 23, 1967.
[22]"Permanent Home for Department of Archives and History," p. 10.

Archives also houses vast state files. The original building gave out of room and for many years the attic had to be used to store valuable unique materials simply because there was no space elsewhere. Estimates on the cost of the wing were $2 million, however the Legislature appropriated only $1 million. With no guarantee of another appropriation, Mr. Howard proceeded with the construction of the wing as far as possible with the budget available reasoning that the cost of construction would increase. When the funds were depleted the wing was a shell with no electricity, no heating, and no air conditioning. With the shell of the wing standing bleak and useless in sight of the Capitol, he requested the $1 million necessary to complete the building, believing that completion of the wing could not be refused.[23] In 1973 Governor George C. Wallace intervened and the money was provided by revenue sharing funds. Finally completed, the wing alleviated the space problem but again as the state of Alabama grows older and history accumulates the perennial problem of where to file or store everything has resurfaced.

Under Mr. Howard's administration the Archives also enjoyed a period of substantial growth in its services. In the 1966-67 fiscal year there were 19 employees[24] and by the 1980-81 fiscal year the staff had grown to 47. He also began keeping the research rooms open on Saturdays to accomodate students and working people who could not use the resources of the Archives during regular working hours.[25]

From 1964 through 1968 Mr. Howard was an instructor at the University of Alabama in Montgomery and beginning in 1968 was a research lecturer at Auburn University in Montgomery in addition to his other duties.[26]

He was a member of Saint John's Episcopal Church and served as Vestryman 1963-1965, 1967-1969 and 1972-1974; clerk of the vestry 1963-1965, 1967-1969 and 1972-1974; Junior Warden 1968; Senior Warden 1969, and treasurer 1971. He

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[23]" 'Shell' of New State Archives Wing is Nearly Completed," *Montgomery Advertiser*, January 20, 1972,

[24]State of Alabama. *Budget General Fund and Trust Funds for the Fiscal Years Ending September 30, 1966 and September 30, 1967*, p. 65.

[25]State of Alabama. *Executive Budget Fiscal Year 1980-1981*, p. 98-99.

[26]Notes in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files in the Archives.

was Historiographer, Diocese of Alabama 1969-1975, an occasional Sunday school teacher in the Episcopal and Methodist churches, served in the Student Vestry at Saint Dunstan's Chapel in Auburn, and of the Advisory Committee of the Eighth Street Chapel (Episcopal) at Fort Meade, Maryland.[27]

In 1967 he rang the bells at Saint John's in observance of All Saints Day, which was also the 82nd anniversary of the church bells which were dedicated and rung for the first time on All Saints Day in 1885.[28] In 1972 he gave a five minute concert on the bells which was part of a spiritual program open to the public.[29]

In 1967 he received the Distinguished Service Award from the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce[30] and in August of that year was voted one of the Four Outstanding Young Men of Alabama by the Alabama Jaycees and Liberty National Life Insurance Company.[31] In 1968 he received the Distinguished Service Award from the Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce.[32] In 1975 he was elected to the Alabama Academy of Honor. He has been listed in *Who's Who in America* since 1970 and has been listed in *Who's Who in Alabama* since 1969.

His charitable works included serving on the Board of Directors of the Woman's Home, a home for elderly women located within a block of the Archives building.[33]

He was a member of numerous commissions, organizations, and associations: Alabama Academy of Science, Alabama American Revolution Bicentennial Commission 1975-1977, Alabama Archaeological Society board of directors, Alabama Art Commission, Alabama Committee for the Humanities and Public Policy 1973-1978, Alabama Division of the United Daughters of

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[27]From information in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files at the Archives.

[28]"Bell Ringer," *Montgomery Advertiser,* November 2, 1967.

[29]"Church Bells Concert Slated Here Friday," *Montgomery Advertiser,* February 3, 1972.

[30]Information in the Milo Howard file in the clipping files at the Archives.

[31]"Three Montgomery Citizens Among Award Contestants," *Montgomery Advertiser,* August 19, 1967

[32]"Montgomery Jaycees Honor Two," *Montgomery Advertiser,* January 17, 1968.

[33]"Southern Gentleman Was Born to Head State's Archives," *Birmingham News,* November 4, 1981.

the Confederacy Honorary Associate Member, Alabama Historical Association treasurer 1959-1964 and 1966-1981, vice president 1964-1965 and president 1965-1966, Alabama Historical Commission chairman 1967-1979, Alabama Library Association, Alabama Military Hall of Honor, Alabama Sesquicentennial Commission 1969, Alabama State Employees Association member of the board, Alabama Women's Hall of Fame, Auburn University Humanities Advisory Board chairman 1973-1976, English Speaking Union member of the board of the Montgomery Chapter, The Forum Club, Friends of the Montgomery Public Library, John L. Sanders Memorial Trust secretary-treasurer, Junior League of Montgomery advisor to the board of controls, Junior League of Montgomery honorary advisor to the Symphony Committee, Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery secretary, Montgomery Bachelor's Club, Montgomery Historic Development Commission, Montgomery Junior Chamber of Commerce secretary-treasurer 1960-1963, Montgomery Museum Association, Newcomen Society, Old South Historical Society, Rotary Club director, Society of American Archivists, Southern Historical Association, State Capitol Preservation Commission chairman, State Employees Consolidated Charity Drive Committee, State Historic Preservation Officer, Stonewall Jackson Memorial Board secretary, Theta Chi Fraternity secretary and vice president, The Thirteen, Tumbling Waters Museum of Flags steering committee, United Appeal Special Gifts Committee.[34]

Landmarks Foundation of Montgomery was founded because of his concern over the destruction of the older part of Montgomery, specifically Maude Shaw's property which has three antebellum buildings. A city attorney suggested that he and James Loeb form a private foundation to supplement the work of the Alabama Historical Commission and the Ordeman-Shaw complex was preserved.[35]

He was a prolific author having numerous articles published. His published books are: *A Brief History of St. John's Church;* he co-authored *The Memoire Justificatif of the Chevalier Montault de Monberaut; The Minutes, Journals and Acts of the General Assembly of British and West Florida.*

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[34]Information in the Milo Howard file in the Library clipping files at the Archives.
[35]"Others Touched Their Lives," *Advertiser Journal,* December 27, 1981.

He was a popular speaker and spoke often to all types of organizations and groups from all over Alabama and the southeast.

An editorial in the *Montgomery Advertiser* of November 5, 1981 said: "By the time Milo Howard died of lung cancer Tuesday at the relatively young age of 48, he was for years recognized even by people who did not know him personally as an invaluable and perhaps irreplaceable institution in this city. He walked and talked with a fragile yet commanding gentility that cast a shadow of refinement and respectability over Capitol corridors long since shorn of whatever antebellum virtue there was among men that spawned the myth of universal chivalry."

Former Governor John Patterson reflected that Mr. Howard had the appearance, knowledge, commitment and personality to have been cast by Hollywood in the role of a typical archivist. "Howard, tall, slim, neat and stately, was a familiar figure as he glided around the Capitol in his dark suits, immaculate white shirts and highly polished shoes."[36]

Dr. Robert R. Rea, a professor of history at Auburn University and a friend of many years remarked:

> "I first met Milo when he was an undergraduate student at Auburn, and I am quite sure that he introduced himself on that occasion as a Montgomerian. . . . Of its history, few could have been so knowledgeable. He could walk the streets of Montgomery and recreate their state, the buildings and businesses that lined them, at every stage of the city's development. And I often felt that he could populate them with the proper people at any period of their history . . .
>
> "His appreciation of public education, his appreciation of what it should be, was reflected in his readiness to welcome other students as visitors to the State Archives. He might, indeed, groan a bit over the inevitable noise and nonsense, but he also smiled over their exposure to a broader culture, for he knew that some part of it would

[36] *Birmingham News*, November 4, 1981.

rub off and benefit those future generations. I need not tell you that Milo worked hard and constantly to maintain, restore, and improve this city without any interest save that its beauty and its history should be known and cherished for the future . . .

"He was not a man to make a great noise about himself, his ambitions or his successes. He lived and worked quietly. . . . He was a man of proportion. Much of his life was spent in public service in which he provided leadership of the finest sort to organizations too numerous to be mentioned . . .

"Because he was a man who lived up to his own standards, he will be remembered as one who embodied precision, exactitude, a restrained formality — integrity in the fullest sense of the word."[37]

He became ill in August, the upper left lobe of his lung was removed and even though he never recovered enough to return to his office he directed department business from his home. Robert Pinkston, a close friend, said that Mr. Howard had conducted department and personal business in the morning and that afternoon, while talking with a family member passed away quietly.[38]

A park located in the Cloverdale section of Montgomery about one block from the house where he lived was dedicated to him in the spring of 1982. The triangular park contains a fountain, a flower garden and the memorial marker.[39]

A magnolia tree and a memorial marker were placed in his honor on the southeast corner of the grounds of the Archives building.

Founded in 1901 this fully state supported archival department is the oldest in the nation. Milo B. Howard, Jr. was the fourth director in its history and had the privilege of serving under the second director, Marie Bankhead Owen, and the third

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[37]Remarks by Dr. Robert R. Rea at the Dedication of Howard Park, April 18, 1982.
[38]*Birmingham News*, November 4, 1981.
[39]"Memorial Park," *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 19, 1982.

director, Peter A. Brannon. With his ancestral ties to the land and his lengthy career with the Archives from 1952 as a college student to 1981 as director, he was almost born into the service of history and historical researchers.

THE CONFEDERATE CONSTITUTION: A LEGAL AND HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

By Roger D. Hardaway

> The Constitution of the Confederate States, as the instrument of government, is the most certain and decisive expression of the views and principles of those who formed it, and is entitled to credence and acceptance as the most trustworthy and authoritative exposition of the principles and purposes of those who established the Confederate Government.
>
> — Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry[1]

On February 4, 1861, forty-three delegates from six Southern states — South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana — met in convention at Montgomery, Alabama.[2] The delegates represented the states that had seceded from the United States, and their purpose was to form a new federal government for their nation. In the span of five weeks, the delegates chose a name for their country, wrote and adopted a provisional constitution,[3] elected themselves Congressmen, selected and inaugurated a president and vice president, and wrote a permanent constitution[4] which was

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[1]J.L.M. Curry, *The Southern States of the American Union Considered in their Relations to the Constitution of the United States and to the Resulting Union* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), p. 191.

[2]The work of the Montgomery convention is most thoroughly treated by Charles Robert Lee, Jr., in *The Confederate Constitutions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), pp. 51-122. Lee profiles the delegates on pp. 21-50 and 153-58.

[3]The Provisional Confederate Constitution is reproduced in Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* pp. 159-70; Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* I (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, [1881], pp. 640-48; and Alexander H. Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States; its Causes, Character, Conduct and Results,* II (Philadelphia: National Publishing Co., 1870), pp. 714-22.

[4]The Permanent Confederate Constitution is reproduced in Emory M. Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), pp. 307-22, and Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, pp. 722-35. In addition, the Permanent Confederate Constitution is printed beside the United States Constitution in parallel columns, with the differences between the two documents printed in italics, in Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* pp. 171-200; Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government,* I, pp. 648-75; and J.L.M. Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States with Some Personal Reminiscences* (Richmond, Virginia: B.F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1901), pp. 274-309.

to take effect within one year of the inauguration of the president.[5]

Time was of the essence in the creation of the Confederate States of America. Stability had to be given to the Confederate government, as J.L.M. Curry, an Alabama delegate to the Montgomery convention, later said, "to prevent disorder and anarchy and secure [the] co-operation" of the governed.[6] The leaders of the seceded states realized that they had to unite quickly as a new country so that together they could resist the effort of the United States government to coerce them into re-joining the Union.[7] The adoption of a hastily written provisional constitution on February 8 created the new country and gave its government the measure of stability and unity necessary for continued existence.[8]

The provisional constitution stipulated that the delegates to the Montgomery convention would automatically become Congressmen of the new nation during the provisional period.[9] The Congress thus created was a unicameral body with each state having one vote regardless of population.[10] Furthermore, Congress would exercise the executive functions of the government, as well as the legislative, until a president could be elected and inaugurated.[11] On the morning of February 9, the delegates took the oath of office as Congressmen, and immediately elected by unanimous votes Jefferson Davis of Mississippi and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia as provisional president and vice-president of the Confederate States of America.[12] They were to serve for one year or less, during which time a popular election would be held to choose their successors.[13]

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[5]Provisional Confederate Constitution, Preamble.
[6]Curry, *The Southern States,* p. 191.
[7]E. Merton Coulter, *The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), p. 23.
[8]Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* p. 72.
[9]Provisional Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 1.
[10]*Ibid.,* Article I, Section 3, Clause 1; Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions*, p. 68; and William M. Robinson, Jr., "A New Deal in Constitutions," *Journal of Southern History,* Vol. IV, No. 4 (November 1938), p. 453.
[11]Provisional Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 5, Clause 3; and Article I, Section 6, Clause 19.
[12]Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* p. 78.
[13]Provisional Confederate Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Clause 1.

At the time of his election as provisional president, Davis was at Brierfield, his plantation near Vicksburg, Mississippi. Upon being informed of his election, he began a journey by train to Alabama.[14] Because of the fact that no railroad tracks connected Mississippi to Montgomery, Davis was forced to take a circuitous route that took him through Memphis, Chattanooga, and Atlanta. Consequently, he did not arrive in Montgomery until Saturday, February 16.[15] On Monday morning February 18, the president-elect rode in a parade through the streets of Montgomery to the site of his inauguration on the steps of Alabama's capital building. An estimated ten thousand Southerners witnessed the installation of their new president.[16] Stephens, who was a delegate to the Montgomery convention, had celebrated his forty-ninth birthday by taking the oath of office as vice-president on February 11.[17]

Meanwhile, the delegates, acting in their capacity as Congressmen, appointed twelve of their colleagues to write a permanent constitution. Two people from each state served on the committee which was chaired by Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina. The committee draft of the constitution was ready for debate on February 28.[18] For two weeks, the members of the convention performed their Congressional duties in the mornings and reconvened as constitutional convention delegates in the afternoons to debate the provisions of the proposed constitution.[19] Delegates from Texas, the seventh state to secede, arrived at Montgomery on February 27, and were allowed to participate in the debate on the permanent constitution although Texas was not admitted to the Confederacy until March 2.[20] The permanent constitution was unanimously approved by the delegates on March 11, 1861, and submitted to the states for their approval.[21] Five states were required to ratify the constitution in order for it to be adopted.[22]

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[14]Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, pp. 230-31, and Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, p. 60.
[15]*Ibid.*, p. 61, and Coulter, *The Confederate States of America*, p. 26.
[16]Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions*, pp. 79-80, and Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, pp. 61-62.
[17]*Ibid.*, p. 60, and Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions*, p. 79.
[18]*Ibid.*, pp. 82-87, and Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, pp. 62-63.
[19]Lee, *Confederate Constitutions*, p. 87.
[20]*Ibid.*
[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 103, 123.
[22]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article VII, Section 1.

This was accomplished in less than three weeks, as Mississippi became the fifth state to ratify the constitution on March 29.[23]

The permanent Confederate Constitution provided that upon its ratification by five states, Congress would set a time for the election and inauguration of the president, vice-president, and Congressmen.[24] The elections were held on November 6, 1861, and Davis and Stephens were re-elected without opposition.[25] In May, 1861, the capital of the Confederate States had been moved to Richmond, Virginia,[26] and Davis and Stephens were inaugurated for their second terms in that city on February 22, 1862.[27] By the terms of the provisional constitution, the inauguration was to have taken place no later than February 18, 1862; however, the inaugural ceremony was delayed until Washington's birthday as a symbolic gesture to signify the historical connection between the Confederate States and the United States.[28] On that date, February 22, 1862, the permanent Confederate Constitution went into effect.[29]

The Confederate Constitution was closely patterned after that of the United States. As J.L.M. Curry later wrote: "The seceding States were not dissatisfied with the Constitution, but with its administration, and their avowed and manifest purpose was to restore its integrity and secure in the future its faithful observance."[30] In fact, several states were so intent upon embodying the basic framework of the United States Constitution into that of the Confederate States, that they sent their delegates to Montgomery with specific instructions not

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[23]Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* pp. 132-35. The other six states ratified the permanent constitution on the following dates: Alabama, March 12; Georgia, March 16; Louisiana, March 21; Texas, March 23; South Carolina, April 3; and Florida, April 22. The four states that seceded after the start of the Civil War ratified the permanent constitution on these dates: Arkansas, June 1; North Carolina, June 6; Virginia, June 19; and Tennessee, August 1.

[24]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article VII, Section 2.

[25]Coulter, *The Confederate States of America,* pp. 103-104; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1954), p. 54; and Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, pp. 483-84.

[26]Arnold Whitridge, "Jefferson Davis and the Collapse of the Confederacy," *History Today,* Vol. XI, No. 2 (February 1961), p. 85

[27]Coulter, *The Confederate States of America,* pp. 103-104, and Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy,* p. 54.

[28]Roy F. Nichols, "The Operation of American Democracy, 1861-1865: Some Questions," *Journal of Southern History,* Vol. XXV, No. 1 (February 1959), pp. 31-52.

[29]Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, p. 483.

[30]Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States,* p. 69.

to deviate greatly from the provisions of the parent document.[31]

Several reasons why the Confederate Constitution should be modelled after the United States Constitution were evident to the Montgomery delegates. First, as indicated above, was the fact that Southerners admired the United States Constitution as a document — they were just unhappy with the interpretations given some of its sections by the United States Congress and the Supreme Court.[32] As Alexander Stephens said, the aim of the Montgomery convention "was to sustain, uphold, and perpetuate the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States" as Southerners interpreted those principles.[33] By only modifying the United States Constitution, the Confederate States would be operating under a system of government with which they were familiar.[34] Furthermore, border states that were uncertain about whether or not to secede would know that the Confederate States government would not be very different from the one under which they had been functioning, and their fears of a radical Confederate government would be alleviated.[35] The same would be true of those Southerners who had opposed secession.[36] So using the United States Constitution as the foundation for the Confederate States government would act to unify the Southerners in support of their new nation. Moreover, the United States Constitution had been tested for seventy-two years and had worked well; the Southerners believed that with the correction of its few "defects," it would be the best form of government they could

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 50; Curry, *The Southern States,* pp. 194-95; and Alexander H. Stephens, *Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens,* ed. by Myrta Lockett Avary (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1910), pp. 171-72. All delegates to the Montgomery Convention, except those from Florida, were chosen at state secession conventions. Florida's governor appointed that state's three delegates. See Lee, *The Confederate Constitutions,* p. 22.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[33] Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, p. 339.

[34] Whitridge, "Jefferson Davis and the Collapse of the Confederacy," p. 80; E. A. Pollard, *Southern History of the War,* I (New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1866), p. 45; and Charles Henry Ambler, *Correspondence of Robert M. T. Hunter, 1826-1876* found in American Historical Association, *Annual Report, 1916* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918) 2:114 quoted in Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority, 1789-1861*: A Study in Political Thought (New York: New York University Press, 1930).

[35] John Witherspoon DuBose, The Life and Times of William Lowndes Yancey: *A History of Political Parties in the United States from 1834-1864; Especially as to the Origin of the Confederate States* (Birmingham, Alabama: Roberts & Son, 1892) 144 as quoted in Jesse T. Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority.*

[36] Thomas, *The Confederate Nation,* pp. 56-57.

devise.[37] Finally, time was still of the essence, and merely modifying the United States Constitution was the quickest and easiest way to organize the new government.[38]

Of paramount importance to the Montgomery delegates was that the new constitution would embody the concepts of sovereignty and states' rights. Thus, in the preamble of the Confederate Constitution, it was stated that the people of the Confederate States were forming their government as "sovereign and independent" states. The delegates were creating a "permanent federal government" rather than a "more perfect Union."[39] This was done, Stephens said, "to put at rest forever the argument of the Centralists, drawn from the Preamble of the old Constitution, that it had been made by the people of all the States collectively, or in mass, and not by the States in their several Sovereign character."[40] And Curry noted that the preamble made it clear that the federal government of the Confederate States was the creation of the states and the only power it had was that given to it by them.[41]

Other sections of the Confederate Constitution echoed the theme of state superiority. Whereas the legislative power of the United States government was "granted" to Congress, the Confederate Constitution "delegated" that power to its Congress.[42] The two words differ in meaning in that "to grant" means "to give," while "to delegate" means "to entrust."[43] Thus, the Southern states reserved the right to take back any power that they were allowing the Congress to exercise. In addition, states retained the power to impeach federal officers whose duties were "solely within the limits of any State." The impeachment was to be by a vote of two-thirds of both houses of the legislature of the particular state;[44] however, the trial of the impeached official was to be conducted by the Confederate Senate.[45]

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[37]Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States,* p. 63, and Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority,* p. 222.
[38]*Ibid.,* pp. 224-25
[39]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Preamble.
[40]Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, p. 335.
[41]Curry, *The Southern States,* p. 195.
[42]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 1.
[43]*Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language* (Nashville: Southwestern Co., 1965), pp. 199, 326.
[44]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 2, Clause 5.
[45]*Ibid.,* Article I, Section 3, Clause 6.

In 1861, the United States Constitution contained twelve amendments, and all were written into the body of the Confederate Constitution.[46] The ninth and tenth amendments, dealing with rights reserved to the states, were modified to stress the point that the people of the individual states rather than the people generally were retaining those rights.[47] Under the Confederate Constitution, a state's sovereignty could not be invaded by the institution of a lawsuit against it by a citizen of another state.[48] Furthermore, Confederate states could enact duties on sea-going vessels to raise revenue to improve their rivers and harbors without obtaining the consent of Congress. Nor was Congress' consent necessary for two or more states to enter into agreements concerning navigation of rivers that traversed those states.[49] Neither of these last two rights had been given to the states under the United States Constitution.[50]

The second major concern of the Montgomery delegates was that the Confederate Constitution would insure the rights of Southerners to own slaves. Consequently, several sections of the constitution guaranteed the protection of slave property. Southerners could travel to any state in the Confederacy with their slaves without fear that their right of property in them would be impaired.[51] That is, if a free state should later join the Confederacy — and that possibility was left open[52] — slaves would not become free by travelling or escaping to that state.[53] If the Confederate States acquired new territories that were not yet states, slavery would exist in those territories.[54] Furthermore, Congress was prohibited from enacting any laws to deny or impair the right of Southerners to own slaves.[55]

The Confederate States, however, agreed with the United States that the foreign slave trade should end. Consequently,

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[46]Coulter, *The Confederate States of America,* p. 28.
[47]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article VI, Sections 5 and 6; and Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority,* p. 229.
[48]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article III, Section 2, Clause 1.
[49]*Ibid.,* Article I, Section 10, Clause 3.
[50]Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority,* p. 244.
[51]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article IV, Section 2, Clause 1.
[52]See Thomas, *The Confederate Nation,* pp. 64-65
[53]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article IV, Section 2, Clause 3.
[54]*Ibid.,* Article IV, Section 3, Clause 3.
[55]*Ibid.,* Article I, Section 9, Clause 4.

the Confederate Constitution prohibited the importation of slaves from any country except the United States.[56] Additionally, Congress was given the power to put an end to that slave trading if it desired.[57] This was the result of a compromise between those delegates who wanted to stop all slave trading and those who did not want to curtail it at all.[58]

The Confederate Constitution was a monument to fiscal responsibility in government. It created many safeguards to protect the taxpayers' money, and, if anything, it put too many restrictions on the spending of public funds. According to Curry, "the Confederate States dreaded the abuse of the taxing power,"[59] and the Confederate Constitution certainly reflected that attitude. For one thing, Congress could collect only that amount of money necessary to pay the country's debts, provide for its defense, and "carry on the Government of the Confederate States."[60] The clause in the United States Constitution allowing tax money to be collected to provide for the "general welfare" was specifically excluded from the Confederate Constitution because the delegates were of the opinion that it had been greatly abused by the United States Congress in the past.[61] Congress could enact no protective tariffs which would "foster or promote any branch of industry."[62] However, Congress did have the right to tax exports by a vote of two-thirds of both houses. This was a taxing power which the United States Congress did not have.[63]

Many sections of the Confederate Constitution curtailed the power of the federal government to spend public funds. Unless money was requested by the president or was needed to pay the expenses of the government, Congress could not appropriate it except by a vote of two-thirds of both houses.[64] Any contract entered into by the government of the Confederate States was to specify the exact amount of the appropriation, and this amount could not be increased by the payment

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[56]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 1.
[57]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 2.
[58]Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority*, p. 250.
[59]Curry, *The Southern States*, p. 201.
[60]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 1.
[61]Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States*, p. 83.
[62]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 1.
[63]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 6.
[64]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 9.

of extra compensation to a contractor, officer, agent or servant.[65] Stephens said that this practice under the United States government had led to a great waste of public money.[66] Congress could not appropriate money for bounties out of the federal treasury.[67] Furthermore, Congress was prohibited from appropriating any money for internal improvements except to aid navigation, and the money so appropriated was to be collected from those who benefitted by the improvements, presumably to be returned to the federal treasury.[68] No money could be appropriated to build roads for the benefit of the post office department, which was a reversal of the policy of the United States government.[69]

Several other clauses of the Confederate Constitution were also designed to curtail the useless spending of public money. Every law passed by Congress was to relate to only one subject which was to be stated in the title.[70] The purpose of this clause was to prevent riders from being added to appropriations bills,[71] a practice used by the United States Congress to fund pet projects or "pork barrel" measures. Another clause relating to the same custom gave the president the power of item veto. Instead of either accepting or rejecting an appropriations bill in its entirety as the President of the United States must do, the Confederate president could accept parts of the bill and reject the remainder.[72] A final safeguard to the federal coffers required the post office department to become self-supporting by March 1, 1863.[73] This clause had as one of its objects the reduction of the use of free mailing privileges by Congressmen and other governmental officials.[74]

The Congress created by the permanent Confederate Constitution, unlike the first Confederate Congress, was a bicameral one. Congressmen and Senators had to meet the same age requirements as their counterparts in the United States,

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[65] *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 10.
[66] Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States*, II, p. 337.
[67] Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 1.
[68] *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 8, Clause 3.
[69] *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 8, Clause 7.
[70] *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 9, Clause 20.
[71] Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority*, p. 255.
[72] Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 7, Clause 2.
[73] *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 8, Clause 7.
[74] Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States*, p. 88.

twenty-five and thirty years, respectively.[75] Members of the House of Representatives were to be apportioned according to population, one representative for every fifty thousand people. Three-fifths of the slaves in a Congressional district were to be counted for purposes of apportioning representatives, a provision carried over from the United States Constitution.[76] Each state, regardless of population, was to be allotted two senators.[77] Senators were to be elected by state legislatures, as United States Senators were elected; however, the Confederate Constitution provided that senators would be elected in the regular term of the state legislature immediately preceding their terms of service.[78] Thus, the legislators who would be electing senators would themselves be newly elected, and the senators so chosen would reflect, presumably, the will of the people. In all state and federal elections in the Confederate States, only citizens of the country could vote;[79] some states in the United States allowed aliens to vote.[80] A unique innovation written into the Confederate Constitution allowed Congress to enact legislation permitting Cabinet members to be seated in either House of Congress and to debate legislation pertaining to their departments.[81] However, Congress did not enact such a law during the short life of the Confederacy.[82]

The President of the Confederate States was to be chosen, after a popular election, by an electoral college similar to the one in use in the United States.[83] Most of the delegates at the Montgomery convention realized the shortcomings of the electoral college, and many other proposals for the election of the president were presented. However, no consensus could be reached on any alternative suggestion, so the electoral college was reluctantly retained.[84] The Confederate president

[75]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Clause 2, and Article I, Section 3, Clause 3.
[76]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 2, Clause 3.
[77]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 3, Clause 1.
[78]*Ibid.*
[79]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 2, Clause 1.
[80]Coulter, *The Confederate States of America*, p. 29, and Robinson, "A New Deal in Constitutions," p. 454.
[81]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article I, Section 6, Clause 2.
[82]Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, pp. 259-60, and Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*, p. 30.
[83]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Clauses 2, 3, 4, and 5.
[84]Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States*, pp. 70-74, and Robinson, "A New Deal in Constitutions," p. 457.

was required to be thirty-five years old and a citizen of the states constituting the Confederacy for fourteen years.[85] The president and vice-president were to be chosen for six-year terms rather than for four years, and the president could only serve one term.[86] The original draft of the United States Constitution had limited the president to one six-year term,[87] and the Montgomery delegates believed that such an arrangement would reduce greatly the tendency of the president to use his power for purely political reasons.[88] Another provision of the constitution was also designed to take politics out of the presidency. The president was not allowed to remove from office employees of the executive department, except ambassadors and Cabinet members, without cause; and he was required to state his reasons for removing an employee in writing to the Confederate Senate.[89] Finally, if a presidential appointee was rejected by the Confederate Senate, that person could not be re-appointed to the same office during the Senate's recess.[90]

The judicial article of the Confederate Constitution allowed for the establishment of the Supreme Court.[91] However, the Confederate Congress never saw fit to create such a court, although proposals pertaining to it were occasionally debated in Congress.[92] The Southerners had grown to dislike the United States Supreme Court intensely, and a fear of appellate jurisdiction over state court decisions was the main reason no Confederate Supreme Court was ever established.[93] Moreover, the pressing business of the war prevented the need for a Supreme Court from becoming urgent.[94] Consequently, ultimate judicial power was in the state supreme courts throughout the life of the Confederacy.[95] Federal district courts were created by the

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[85]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article II, Section 1, Clause 7.
[86]*Ibid.*, Article II, Section 1, Clause 1.
[87]Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, p. 259.
[88]Curry, *The Southern States*, p. 196, and Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority*, pp. 256-57.
[89]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article II, Section 2, Clause 3.
[90]*Ibid.*, Article II, Section 2, Clause 4.
[91]*Ibid.*, Article III, Section 1, Clause 1.
[92]Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, pp. 194-95.
[93]J.G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "The State Courts and the Confederate Constitution," *Journal of Southern History*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (November 1938), pp. 427-30.
[94]*Ibid.*, p. 430, and Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy*, pp. 58-59.
[95]Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, p. 195, and Hamilton, "The State Courts and the Confederate Constitution," pp. 433-34.

Confederate Congress, but they had no power to review state court decisions.[96] District courts were also restricted in their jurisdiction in that citizens of different states could not sue each other in federal courts but were left to seek relief in state courts.[97]

The Confederate Constitution also differed from the United States Constitution in other ways. In the preamble of the Confederate Constitution, the Southerners asked the "favor and guidance" of God in their governmental endeavors.[98] The Confederate Congress could pass no bankruptcy law which would extinguish a debt contracted prior to the passage of the law.[99] The Confederate Constitution required that new states could be admitted only by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, the representatives voting individually and the senators voting by states.[100] This was done in order to insure that a significant number of states would agree before a free state was admitted to the Confederacy.[101] Under the United States Constitution, amendments could be proposed by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses of Congress or by two-thirds of the state legislatures. Amendments so proposed were to be ratified by three-fourths of the states in order to become part of the constitution. Amendments to the Confederate Constitution could be proposed by the vote of conventions in only three states, and the Confederate Congress was prohibited from offering constitutional amendments. Amendments would become part of the constitution upon being ratified by two-thirds of the states.[102] So the Confederate Constitution was easier to amend than the United States Constitution, although Confederate amendments could originate only in the states.[103]

Two controversial issues which the Confederate Constitution did not address were those of the right of Confederate

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[96]*Ibid.*, pp. 425, 433.

[97]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article III, Section 2, Clause 1, and Stephens, *A Constitutional View of the Late War Between the States,* II, p. 337.

[98]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Preamble.

[99]*Ibid.*, Article I, Section 8, Clause 4.

[100]*Ibid.*, Article IV, Section 3, Clause 1.

[101]Thomas, *The Confederate Nation,* p. 65.

[102]Permanent Confederate Constitution, Article V.

[103]Nevertheless, the Permanent Confederate Constitution was never amended; one minor admendment, concerning federal district courts, was added to the provisional constitution.

states to secede and to nullify federal laws.[104] The delegates to the Montgomery convention decided that it was best to disregard those issues until such time as it became absolutely necessary to deal with them.[105] However, the right of a state to secede from a confederacy to which it no longer wished to belong could hardly be denied by the government of the Confederate States of America. The emphasis put upon state sovereignty in the Confederate Constitution would seem to imply a right to secede, and President Davis believed that states could not be coerced into remaining in the Confederacy because of the fact that secession was not expressly prohibited.[106]

The defeat of the Confederate States of America in the Civil War causes any judgments concerning the effectiveness of the Confederate Constitution to be mere speculation. The Confederacy never faced a constitutional crisis which would have tested the durability of its constitution. However, a few observations can be made concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the document as the foundation of a nation's government. The legislative branch of the federal government was extremely limited in what it could do, and its ability to spend the public money was probably restricted too much. The reluctance of the Confederate Congress to pass tax bills to finance the South's war effort probably contributed to the loss of the war and of the nation.[107] The judicial branch of the federal government was terribly weak during the existence of the Confederacy, but measures to correct this deficiency would have no doubt been forthcoming had the Confederate States won the war. The presidency, however, was a powerful position, and the executive branch was easily the most powerful of the three federal branches. Although the president was restricted in his ability to remove employees in his department, he was at liberty to dismiss his major appointees without cause. He was also free from having to play politics in order to maintain his position as president, being assured of six years in office and forever barred from seeking the position again. Most important, however, was his control over budgetary matters with the right of item veto over appropriations bills.

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[104]Thomas, *The Confederate Nation,* p. 63.
[105]Carpenter, *The South as a Conscious Minority,* pp. 232-33.
[106]Coulter, *The Confederate States of America,* pp. 29-30.

The Confederate Constitution perhaps put too much power into the hands of the states, and whether a nation of sovereign states loosely bound together in a confederacy could survive would have been the true test of the Confederate Constitution. It is open to question whether or not the Confederate Constitution improved upon its predecessor in the United States. But one thing can be said with assurance concerning the Confederate Constitution: It was what the Southern people wanted, and, as J.L.M. Curry said, it secured the rights of the Southern states and guarded the principles of government and life which the South held most dear.[108]

[108]Thomas, *The Confederate Nation*, pp. 137-38, 197-99.
[108]See Curry, *Civil History of the Government of the Confederate States*, p. 64.

ALABAMA'S RECONSTRUCTION REPRESENTATIVES IN THE U. S. CONGRESS, 1868-1878: A PROFILE

by

Thomas J. Davis

Five men entered the United States House of Representatives on Tuesday, July 21, 1868, as members from Alabama. A sixth man entered on the next day to complete the state's delegation, and two other men from the state were soon seated as members of the United States Senate. Not since she had withdrawn her men in the process of formally separating herself following her act of secession from the Union on Friday, January 11, 1861, had Alabama been represented in the U.S. Congress. Now, after seven-and-a-half years, the Cotton State again had full representation in the national legislature.[1]

[1]U.S. Congress, House, An Act to Admit the States of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama and Florida to Representation in Congress. H.R. 1058, 40th Cong., 2nd sess., 25 June 1868. *Congressional Globe,* vol. 40, pt. V, appendix, p. 510. The act passed over President Andrew Johnson's veto. Ibid, pt. IV, 3466, 4459, 4465-66. Alabama's U.S. Senators, George E. Spencer and Willard Warner, were seated on July 25, 1868. Also, see U.S., Congress, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington, D.C., 1971), 188. On withdrawal of congressmen, see ibid, 171, 175; Alabama's U.S. Senators Benjamin Fitzpatrick and Clement C. Clay Jr. announced their intention to withdraw on January 21, 1861; six representatives did the same on that date. The last Alabama representative, Williamson R.W. Cobb, presented a signed communication declaring his intention and withdrew on January 30, 1861. That was in the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress. For a description of the state's course to secession, see Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), ch. 2, "Secession from the Union," which draws heavily from William R. Smith's "History and Debates of the Convention of Alabama" (1861). Smith was a cooperationist leader in the convention, and his history and debates represent his notes of the proceedings. Also, ese Clarence P. Denham, *The Secession Movement In Alabama,* (Montgomery, 1933); and William H. Brantley Jr., "Alabama Secedes" *Alabama Review* 7 (1954): 165-185.
Also see standard dictionaries such as *The New International Dictionary of the English Language,* 2nd ed. (1959); and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (1973).

For the historical charges against carpetbaggers see Walter L. Fleming, ed., *Documentary History of Reconstruction, Political, Military, Social, Religious, Educational and Industrial: 1865 to the Present Time,* 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1907), esp. ch. 8, "Carpetbag and Negro Rule," and II: 33-36. On the dark view of Reconstruction generally, see John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and Constitution 1866-1876* (New York, 1902); William A. Dunning, *Essays on Civil War and Reconstruction* and Related Topics, Rev. ed. (New York, 1904) and his *Reconstruction Political and Economic, 1865-1877* (New York, 1907); Walter L. Fleming, *Sequel to Appomattox* (New York, 1919); and E. Merton Coulter, *The South dur-*

Not all Alabamians rejoiced, however. Indeed, the seating of the men provoked harsh words within the Cotton State although nearly everybody agreed that readmission to representation marked a significant step for Alabama in the process of Reconstruction. Not even the dissenters argued against the fact that readmission signalled the regaining of a share in the fundamental power in the federal republic — the power to elect the nation's lawmakers. That was not what generated the discord. It was dissent about the character of the men the Cotton State had sent to Congress that caused contention.[2]

The dissidents accused the men seated in Alabama's name at the nation's capitol of not being truly representative of the state's people. In fact, the complaints alleged that the men were unfit for office. They claimed the men were Yankee Johnny-come-latelys or southern turncoats; in either case, the dissidents asserted, the men were inexperienced in politics and ignorant of Alabama's interests. Largely on the basis of personal background then, the dissidents impeached the integrity of not only the first group of Reconstruction congressmen, but also of others who followed them.[3]

To express their scorn for many of the men, the dissidents labeled them carpetbaggers and scalawags. And the labels stuck. They became part of the old, dark description of Reconstruction as a time when irresponsible and unprincipled men took advantage of the unsettled conditions after the Civil War by promoting their own selfish interests in southern politics. They became generalizations used for convenience to describe the class of men who held immediate post-bellum political office in the Cotton State.[4]

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ing Reconstruction, 1865-1877 (Baton Rouge, 1947). On Alabama particularly, see Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama;* and John W. Dubose, *Alabama's Tragic Decade: Ten Years of Alabama, 1865-1874* (Birmingham, 1940).

On the pervasiveness of the dark view, see Thomas B. Bailes Jr., "Historical Interpretation of the Reconstruction Era in United States History as Reflected in Southern State Required Secondary School Level Textbooks of State History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of New Mexico, 1967); Mark M. Krug, "On Rewriting the Story of Reconstruction in the U.S. History Textbooks" *Journal of Negro History* 46 (1961): 133-153.

[2]For reaction to initial congressmen, see *Montgomery Daily Mail,* July 25, 1868; and Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* 737-38.

[3]For reaction to later congressmen during the period, see Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* 749-50, 754, 761.

Revisionists in recent years have peeled back parts of the general labels in examining the substance of Reconstruction. For example, Alabama historian Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins in her prize-winning book, *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics, 1865-1881,* and her other work has matched the traditional labels against historical truths about Reconstruction politicians at the state level. Her conclusions have shown that the labels distorted the character of many of the Cotton State's local politicians. The background of the state's U.S. senators also has been studied. But there has been no comparable review of congressmen, and so a simple question has remained unanswered: What, in fact, was the character of Alabama's Reconstruction representatives in Congress?[5]

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[4]For the historical definition and origin of the terms carpetbagger and scalawag (scallywag), see Mitford M. Mathews, ed., *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles,* 2 vols. (Chicago, 1951), 273, 1465; the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1973) I: 228; II: 1894-95

[5]Sarah Woolfolk Wiggins, *The Scalawag in Alabama Politics. 1865-1881* (University, Ala., 1977); her "The Role of the Scalawag in Alabama Reconstruction" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State Univ., 1965); her "Carpetbaggers in Alabama: Tradition versus Truth" *Alabama Review* 15 (1962): 133-144. For revisionists see, Richard N. Current, "Carpetbaggers Reconsidered," in David H. Pinkney and Theodore Ropp, eds., *A Festschrift for Frederick B. Artz* (Durham, 1964), 139-157. Also see leading works such as John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction After the Civil War* (Chicago, 1961); Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Era of Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (New York, 1965); and Stampp and Leon F. Litwack, eds., *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings* (Baton Rouge, 1969).

On historiograph, see Alrutheus A. Taylor, "Historians of the Reconstruction" *Journal of Negro History* 23 (1938): 16-34; Francis B. Simkins, "New Viewpoints of Southern Reconstruction" *Journal of Southern History* 5 (1939): 49-61; Howard K. Beale, "On Rewriting Reconstruction History" *American Historical Review* 45 (1940): 807-827; T. Harry Williams, "An Analysis of Some Reconstruction Attitudes" *Journal of Southern History* 12 (1946): 469-486. Bernard A. Weisberger, "The Dark and Bloody Ground of Reconstruction Historiography" *Journal of Southern History* 25 (1959): 427-447; Armstead L. Robinson, "Beyond the Realm of Social Consensus: New Meanings of Reconstruction for American History" *Journal of American History* 68 (1981): 276-297.

On U.S. Senators, see C.M. Thompson, "Carpetbaggers in the United States Senate" in *Studies in Southern History and Politics* (1920); and R. Earl McClendon, "Status of Ex-Confederate States as seen in Readmission of Senators" *American Historical Review* 41 (1936): 703. All three of Alabama's U.S. Senators during the period were born in the North. George E. Spencer, who served from July 25, 1868, to March 3, 1879, was born in New York during 1836; he attended Montreal College and moved to Iowa in 1856 where he practiced law and held public office before joining the Union army during the Civil War; he moved to Alabama in 1865. Willard Warner, who served from July 25, 1868, to March 3, 1871, was born in Ohio during 1826 and graduated from Marietta College in 1845; he served in the Ohio state senate and served in the Union army before moving to Alabama in 1867. George T. Goldthwaite, the only Democrat among the three, was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1809; he attended the United States Military Academy at West Point; he moved to Alabama in 1826 where he studied and prac-

The question can be answered by comparing the facts of the congressmen's personal background against the characteristics implied by the carpetbagger and scalawag labels. For instance, the carpetbagger label was used to suggest a man was born in the North and had come to Alabama only after the Civil War. The scalawag label was used to suggest a man had been born in the South but had switched his sectional and political allegiance by becoming a Republican politician after the war. Both labels intimated that the men lacked suitable education or previous experience as political officeholders.[6]

The items of interest in profiling the men then were their place of birth, place of principal residence before 1861 when the Civil War began, place of residence in 1861, military service during the war as an aspect of sectional allegiance, political party affiliation, education, profession, and officeholding prior to election to Congress. (Table 1 displays Alabama's congressmen by name and indicates their selected characteristics, including the Congressional districts they served and the number of Congresses they served in.)

The profile produced by comparing the congressmen's backgrounds also provides a view of parallel features and relative differences among the men over time. For example, changes in background from congress to congress, from district to district, and from party to party became noticeable. The last point, in comparing the congressmen's background along the lines of party affiliation, offers perspective on the partisan origins of the carpetbagger and scalawag labels. Also, making the comparison over the period from 1868 to 1878 allowed a match of men elected both before and after what historians of Reconstruction have often called, "the re-estabilshment of conservative government," which occurred in Alabama on November 16, 1874. The ten years then encompassing the Fortieth through the Forty-fourth Congress provided a balanced context for the background comparison.[7]

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ticed law, becoming a judge; during the Civil War he served as adjutant general of Alabama. See Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama,* appendix, "Republican Nominations and Appointments, Alabama, 1868-1881."

[6]On use of a comparative method, see Current, "Carpetbaggers Reconsidered," 139-157, and his *Three Carpetbag Governors* (Baton Rouge, 1967).

[7]Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* ch. 24, "The Overthrow of Reconstruction," esp. 782-800; Dubose, *Alabama's Tragic Decade,* ch. 5; Richard

TABLE I

Alabama's Representatives in the U.S. House, 1868-1878, by Name, Congress Served in, Congressional District Served, Place of Birth, Year of Birth, Place of Principal Residence Prior to 1861, Place of Residence in 1861, Year Residence began in Alabama, Political Party Affiliation, Military Service during American Civil War, Attendance at College, Practice of Law, Officeholding Prior to election as Representative.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
1. Kellogg, Francis W.	40	1	Mass.	1810	Mich.	Ohio	1866	R	y-U	n	n	y-e
2. Buckley, Charles W.	40,41,42	2	N.Y.	1835	Ill.	Ill.	1866	R	y-U	y	n	n
3. Norris, Benjamin W.	40	3	Me.	1819	Me.	Me.	1865	R	y-U	y	n	n
4. Pierce, Charles W.	40	4	N.Y.	1823	Ohio	Ill.	1865	D	y-U	n	n	y-e
5. Callis, John B.	40	5	N.C.	1828	Wis.	Wis.	1865	R	y-U	n	n	n
6. Haughey, Thomas	40	6	*	1826	Ala.	Ala.	1841	R	y-U	y	n	y-e
7. Buck, Alfred E.	41	1	Me.	1832	Me.	Me.	1866	R	y-U	y	n	y-e-a
8. Heflin, Robert S.	41	3	Ga.	1815	Ga.	Ala.	1844	R	n	n	y	y-e-a
9. Hays, Charles	41,42,43,44	4	Ala.	1834	Ala.	Ala.	1834	R	y-C	y	n	y-e-a
10. Dox, Peter M.	41,42	5	N.Y.	1813	N.Y.	Ala.	1856	D	n	y	y	y-e-a
11. Sherrod, William C.	41	6	Ala.	1835	Ala.	Ala.	1835	D	y-C	y	n	y-e-a
12. Turner, Benjamin S.	42	1	N.C.	1825	Ala.	Ala.	1830	R	n	n	n	y-e
13. Handley, William A.	42	3	Ga.	1834	Ala.	Ala.	1840?	D	y-C	n	n	n
14. Sloss, Joseph H.	42,43	6	Ala.	1826	Ala.	Ala.	1826	CD	y-C	n	y	y-e
15. Bromberg, Frederick G.	43	1	N.Y.	1837	Ala.	Ala.	1838	LR	n	y	**	y-a
16. Rapier, James T.	43	2	Ala.	1837	Ala.	Cda.	1837/65	R	n	n	y	y-e
17. Pelham, Charles	43	3	N.C.	1835	Ala.	Ala.	1838	R	y-C	n	y	y-a
18. Caldwell, John H.	43,44	5	Ala.	1826	Ala.	Ala.	1826	D	y-C	y	y	y-e
19. White, Alexander	43	A	Tenn.	1816	Ala.	Ala.	1837	R	n	y	y	y-e
20. Sheats, Charles C.	43	A	Ala.	1839	Ala.	Ala.	1839	R	n	n	y	y-e-a
21. Haralson, Jeremiah	44	1	Ga.	1846	Ga.	Ga.	1865?	R	n	n	n	y-e
22. Williams, Jeremiah N.	44	2	Ala.	1829	Ala.	Ala.	1829	D	y-C	y	y	y-e
23. Bradford, Taul	44	3	Ala.	1835	Ala.	Ala.	1835	D	y-C	y	y	y-e
24. Hewitt, Goldsmith H.	44	6	Ala.	1834	Ala.	Ala.	1834	D	y-C	y	y	y-e
25. Forney, William H.	44	A	N.C.	1823	Ala.	Ala.	1840	D	y-C	y	y	n
26. Lewis, Burwell B.	44	A	Ala.	1838	Ala.	Ala.	1838	D	y-C	y	y	y-e-a

SOURCE: Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971 (Washington, D.C., 1971).

NOTES: The column headings indicate as follows: I is name of representative; II is Congress served in; III is Congressional district served; IV is place of birth and the initials in the column are standard abbreviations used by the U.S. Postal Service and the * indicates Scotland; V is year of birth; VI is place of principal residence prior to 1861; VII is place of residence in 1861; VIII is year residence began in Alabama; IX is political party affiliation where CD is Conservative Democratic, D is Democrat, LR is Liberal Republican, R is Republican; X is military service during the American Civil War; y means yes, served in armed forces during the war; n means did not serve; U means served in Union forces; C means served in Confederate forces; XI attended college; y means yes, attended college; n means no, did not attend college; XII is practiced law; y means yes, practiced; n means no, did not practice; XIII is held office prior to election to Congress; y means yes, held office; n means no, did not hold office; e means office held was elective; a means office held was appointive.

The volatile nature of politics within the Cotton State during the period was demonstrated vividly by the significant turnover that occurred in the Congressional delegation. All but five of the total of twenty-six men Alabama sent to the U.S. House from July, 1868, until March 3, 1878, served only a single term. Fierce contention raged then, and men literally lost their life struggling to get and hold a Congressional seat.[8]

So getting a seat, however difficult, proved to be easier than holding on to it. Four of every five (80.0%) of the incumbent representatives during the period failed to keep his seat for a second term. Re-election was, thus, an uncommon feat. A few men in the state's six regular Congressional districts endured, however. The champion survivor was Charles Hays who won four successive terms in the Fourth district. Charles W. Buckley served the Second district three times. Three men served their district twice: Peter M. Dox and John H. Caldwell, each in the Fifth district, and Joseph H. Sloss in the Sixth district. The men who sat in the state's two representative-at-large seats added in 1873 on the basis of reapportionment following *The Ninth Census of the United States* taken in 1870 found it impossible to stay seated: not one of the four during the period succeeded in winning re-election.[9] (See columns I-III in Table 1.)

Chasing a seat on such a quickly changing course led the candidates who ran for Congress in Alabama to seek any edge on their opponents. The two major political parties in the state — the long established Democrats and the recently arrived Republicans — vied for advantage against each other. So did factions within the parties and individuals, too. They all raced to win however they could, and the competition pro-

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Hofstadter, William Miller and Daniel Aaron, *The United States: The History of a Republic,* 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967), 466; Edward C. Williamson, "Alabama Election of 1874" *Alabama Review* 17 (1964): 210.

[8]Representative Thomas Haughey, for example, was murdered in 1869 while campaigning for re-election to Congress from Alabama's Sixth Congressional District. See *Montgomery Advertiser,* August 8, 1869; and Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama,* 57.

[9]On reapportionment, see U.S., Congress, House, *The Decennial Population Census and Congressional Apportionment,* H. Rept. 1314, 91st Cong., 2nd sess., 1970; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1973), I: viii, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970,* 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1975) 2: 1084-85, "Apportionment of Membership in House of Representatives, by States, From Adoption of Constitution to 1970."

duced complaints early and often.[10]

Particularly the losers complained; winners seldom found fault with the results. In the elections that sent the first Reconstruction representatives in Congress in 1868, Republican candidates won five of the six seats. So the Democrats lost big, and they complained bitterly. Attacking the character of the winning Republicans, the Democrats launched their carpet-bagger-scalawag charges.[11]

The background of all six men seated in 1868 strongly supported complaints that they were not long-term Alabamians. Not one of the men was a native of the Cotton State. Four of the six — Rev. Charles W. Buckley, Francis W. Kellogg, Benjamin W. Norris and Charles W. Pierce — were, in fact, northern-born. They had lived most of their life in the North and had come to Alabama only at the end of the Civil War. The other two representatives — Dr. Thomas Haughey and John B. Callis — had divergent origins. Haughey had immigrated to Alabama from Scotland in 1841 as a fifteen-year-old and had lived in the state since then. Callis, on the other hand, was an itinerant; born in North Carolina, he had lived for a time in Tennessee, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Central America and in Wisconsin again, all before his twenty-sixth birthday. He came to the Cotton State as a thirty-seven-year-old in 1865. So, except for Dr. Haughey, the men Alabama sent as its first Reconstruction representatives were reasonably suspect as outsiders and, at least on the basis of birthplace, appeared to fit the stereotype of carpetbaggers and scalawags; yet the men hardly had time to make any lasting impression since by entering the House as they did in July, 1868, they served less than half-a-term before the Fortieth Congress ended on March 3, 1869. (See columns IV, V, VIII in Table 1.)

The state's six representatives in the Forty-first Congress had more of an Alabama background. Indeed, from this point on, native Alabamians increased in the delegation and northern-born men decreased. Rev. Buckley, born in New York

[10]For succinct summary of intra-party conflict and inter-party contentions, see Wiggins, *Scalawag in Alabama;* and on background, see Thomas B. Alexander, "The Basis of Alabama's Ante-Bellum Two Party System" *Alabama Review* 19 (1966): 243.

[11]On contested elections and complaints, see Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama*, 737, 750, 754, 793 and 796.

State, stayed on for this and another term. Another New York born man, Peter M. Dox, also served in this Congress, as did Maine born Alfred E. Buck. But Dox had moved to Alabama in 1856, before the war, unlike Buckley and Buck who both had come in 1866. Robert S. Heflin who was born in Georgia, but moved west to neighboring Alabama in 1844 as a nineteen-year-old, served in this Congress. Adding the home-grown flavor here were two native Alabamians, Charles Hays and William C. Sherrod.

Hays stayed in his seat for the Forty-second Congress. In fact, he continued to sit until the end of the Forty-fourth Congress. He was joined in his second term by an Alabama-born freshman representative, Joseph H. Sloss. So, again, the state's delegation included two native-born sons. Two northern-born men, Buckley and Dox, continued to sit from the previous Congress. The other two representatives were William A. Handley and Benjamin S. Turner, both of whom were southern-born and had lived in the Cotton State for most of their lives.

The number of Alabama-born men rose sharply in the delegation with the election in 1873 of the Forty-third Congress. Five natives sat there: Hays and Sloss returned to their seats and were joined by John H. Caldwell, James T. Rapier and Charles C. Sheats. There were three other representatives because this was the Congress where the Cotton State's seats increased from six to eight. Charles Pelham and Alexander White, two of the remaining three men then, were southern-born. Only Frederick Bromberg, another New York State native, was northern-born. Yet Bromberg had come to the Cotton State in 1838 as a year-old infant. So, like the other seven men, he had spent most of his life in Alabama. All the men except Rapier lived in the state at the start of the war. Rapier, an Alabama born black man, had left for freedom "north of slavery," to use a phrase of the black abolitionist Frederick Douglas, who reckoned that place to be wholly outside the United States; and that was where Rapier was when the war began — in Canada. At the war's end he returned to his birthplace to serve, however, in Reconstruction with its promise of freedom at home. Thus, the Cotton State's delegation in this Congress harbored not a single man who showed even the

slightest sign of being a stranger.[12]

Native Alabamians clearly were in the ascendent then, and in the Forty-fourth Congress they increased their number among the state's representatives by holding six of the eight seats. Hays and Caldwell returned and were joined by four native-born freshmen: Taul Bradford, Goldsmith W. Hewitt, Burwell B. Lewis and Jeremiah H. Williams. The other two representatives —William H. Forney and Jeremiah Haralson—were both southern-born. Forney had lived in the state since 1840. Haralson had spent most of his life as a slave in neighboring Georgia, however, and had come to the Cotton State in the wake of the war. He alone was an outsider then. Not a single northern-born man served the state in this Congress.

No horde of strangers had swarmed in then to steal Alabama's seats in the U.S. House during Reconstruction. Of the twenty-six representatives, ten (38.5%) were native-born sons of the state. Eight others (30.8%) were born elsewhere in the South. Only seven (26.9%) were northern-born. One (3.8%) was born outside the United States. For the most part, even the men not born in Alabama were no strangers to the state when they were elected to Congress: nine (56.3%) of the sixteen nonnatives lived in the state before the war. So they were hardly Johnny-come-latelys, but the remaining seven men were; four

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[12]On Rapier, see Loren Schweninger, "A Fugitive Negro in the Promised Land: James Rapier in Canada, 1856-1864" *Ontario History* 67 (1975): 91-104; Schweninger, "John H. Rapier, Sr.: "A Slave and Freedman in the Ante-Bellum South" *Civil War History* 20 (1974): 23-34; Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), 356, 387.

On black presence in Alabama's Reconstruction politics, see Peter Kolchin, *First Freedom: The Responses of Alabama's Blacks to Emancipation and Reconstruction* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Henry E. Cobb, "Negroes in Alabama during the Reconstruction Period, 1865-1875" (Ed.D. dissertation, Temple Univ., 1952).

The U.S. census of 1870 showed Alabama with a total of 202,046 "male citizens 21 and upward." The total is not broken down by race, however the total in the category "21 and upward—male" (203,315) indicated that 105,474 were whites and 97,823 were blacks (the remaining 18 were Indians). See Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population,* 1:619. The voter registration figures taken in 1868 showed 74,450 whites and 90,340 blacks. See *Report of Major General* [*George G.*] *Meade, March 3, 1868.* House Executive Documents, no. 238, 40th Congress, 2nd sess. Also, note remarks on "Registration and Disfranchisement" in Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* 488-495, and 493-494, 747, 750, 755, 795, for maps of the elections of 1870, 1872, 1874, and 1876. For registration of voters under Reconstruction Acts of 1867, see Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama,* 493-94.

of them had come to Alabama in 1865 and the other three arrived in 1866. Five of these seven latecomers served in the state's first Reconstruction delegation. Only one of the five lasted more than a year in his seat, however. They clearly had not taken over the state's representation.

The attack against the men on the grounds of geographic origins came from partisan sources, and it had only one direction. The Democrats used the latecomer and outsider charges to assail the Cotton State's growing Republican Party. In the early years of Reconstruction, the plight that pushed the Democrats to their tactics was apparent: Republicans dominated Alabama's representation. (See column IX in Table 1.)

The Repulicans sat solidly early. Five of the first six representatives were Republicans. In the next delegation they held four of the six seats. In the following Congress they fell to three. In the Forty-third Congress, for of the eight representatives were regular Republicans and another was a Liberal Republican. In the Forty-fourth Congress elected the year after the state re-established what southern traditionalists called "conservative" government in 1874, the seats swung sharply in the opposite direction: only two Republicans sat and Democrats held the other six seats.

Of the total thirty-four seats the state had during the Fortieth through the Forty-fourth Congress, the Republicans held eighteen—slightly more (52.9%) than half. Two offshoot parties took three seats (8.8%): the Conservative Democrats got two and Joseph H. Sloss and the Liberal Republicans got one with Frederick G. Bromberg. The regular Democratic Party won thirteen seats, a bit more than a third (38.2%) of the total. So the Democrats were likely to lament since they were largely losers until the late Reconstruction Congress when they controlled the state's delegation.[13]

[13]On the Liberal Republicans, see Earle D. Ross, *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919); Matthew T. Downey, "Horace Greeley and the Politicians: The Liberal Republican Convention in 1872" *Journal of American History* 53 (1967): 727; William Gillette, "Election of 1872" in Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Fred L. Israel, eds., *History of American Presidential Elections 1789-1978* (New York, 1971), 4:137; James M. McPherson, "Grant or Greeley? The Abolitionist Dilemma in the Election of 1872" *American Historical Review* 71 (1965): 43-61; Patrick W. Riddleberger, "The Break in the Republican Ranks: Liberals vs. Stalwarts in the election of 1872" *Journal of Negro History* 44 (1959):

The Democrats' charges that the Republican representatives were latecomers and outsiders was self-serving and not completely accurate, for they drew on a blind-eyed partisan perspective. The Democrat Charles W. Pierce was a New Yorker by birth and came to Alabama only after the war; moreover he had served in the Union army, yet his fellow Democrats did not accuse him of being a carpetbagger. Nor did they impugn the Democrat Peter M. Dox, who was also born in New York and had moved to Alabama as a forty-three-year-old in 1856. Immigrating to the Cotton State and becoming its representative during Reconstruction was not the sole prerogative of any one party then.

Nevertheless, it was true that the Democrats were more clearly the party of native white men. Six of the ten Democratic representatives were native Alabamians. Sloss, the Conservative Democrat, also was born in Alabama. Of the fourteen Republican representatives, only three (21.4%)—Hays, Rapier and Sheats—were born in Alabama. (See columns IV and IX in Table 1.)

Even so, by-and-large, the Republican representatives were settled Alabamians. The Scot-born Dr. Haughey, for example, had lived in the Cotton State since 1841. Except for the wandering Callis and the enslaved Haralson, the six Republicans born in the South outside of Alabama had lived in the state when the war broke out. Indeed, they had spent most of their lives in the state. Heflin was the latest of the men to arrive in Alabama and he had come in 1844; he was also the oldest when he arrived at the age of twenty-nine. The others had come at the ages of three, five and nine years. While they were not native sons then, they were certainly children of the Cotton State. (See columns IV-IX in Table 1.)

Only the remaining four Republican representatives—Buck, Buckley, Kellogg and Norris—were northern-born latecomers to Alabama. Except for Buckley, though, they each served only a

136-57. On Conservative Democrats, see William B. Hesseltine, *Confederate Leaders in the New South* (New York, 1950). Also, see Frederick E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements since the Civil War* (New York, 1916); Howard P. Nash Jr., *Third Parties in American Politics* (New York, 1966); George H. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854-1966*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967); and Ralph M. Goldman, *The Democratic Party in American Politics* (New York, 1966).

single term. Together the four men totaled six terms of service: three half-terms in their short Fortieth Congress, two terms in the Forty-first and one in the Forty-second. They accounted then for about a sixth (17.6%) of Alabama's Reconstruction seats in the House.

Yet even these four failed to fit neatly into the carpetbagger stereotype. All of them had, for example, come to the Cotton State before Congress passed the Reconstruction Acts of March, 1867. Contemporary Democrats and historians following the traditional dark time interpretation of the era claimed those acts seduced strangers into swarming into the South to seek political office. But Buck, who appeared as the latest-comer among the four, had moved into Alabama from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in the summer of 1866. The Reverend Buckley had come around January, 1866, as superintendent of education of the Freedmen's Bureau. Kellogg, who had served as a representative from Michigan in the Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congress, had come between April and July of 1866 as collector of internal revenue for the southern district of Alabama. Norris came in May, 1865, as a Freedmen's Bureau agent. Norris and Buckley's jobs with the bureau and Kellogg's post as a federal tax collector created little sympathy for them among ex-confederate supporters. Nor did their work help their reputations within that circle. Yet the men had hardly swarmed into Alabama suddenly to seize political office. All four had lived and worked in the state for at least two years before entering Congress.[14]

The scurrilous carpetbagger charge launched by Democrats lacked substance to stick against the actual background of the four northern-born Republican representatives then, and the scalawag charge against most of the other ten Republican representatives was equally baseless. Although it was true that, except for the Scot-born Haughey, all the men were southern-born, they were not turncoats. The three black Republicans—Haralson, Rapier and Turner—certainly turned their back on no

[14]For information on congressmen who served in the Freedmen's Bureau, I am grateful to my former colleague, the late John A. Carpenter, for generously sharing his research with me. Also Carpenter, *Sword and Olive Branch: Oliver Otis Howard* (Pittsburgh, 1964). Note that John B. Callis was the Freedmen's Bureau sub-assistant commissioner in Huntsville. Also, see Elizabeth Bethel, "The Freedmen's Bureau in Alabama" *Journal of Southern History* 14 (1948): 49-92.

political heritage of theirs by joining the Republican Party. Tennessee-born Alexander White was no turncoat either: an old Union Whig, he had run against the Democrats before the Civil War to be elected to the Thirty-second Congress. Alabama-born Charles C. Sheats was also a pre-war foe of the Democrats. Indeed, he had objected to secession and spent the years from 1862 to 1865 in a Confederate jail on a count of treason although he was never brought to trial on the charge. He switched no sides by becoming a Republican. Neither did Dr. Haughey: he had served as a surgeon in the First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A., to fight the Confederacy along with 2,677 other white Alabamians mostly from the state's northern region. Rather than being turncoats then, these men followed the same politics they had before the war: they opposed the Democrats.[15]

On the whole, in fact, what the men did during the war helped to explain their allegiance. Eighteen (69.2%) of Alabama's twenty-six Reconstruction representatives were Civil War veterans: eleven (42.3%) fought for the Confederacy and seven (26.9%) for the Union. All the men who wore gray were southern-born; indeed, eight of the eleven were born in Alabama. Not all of them became Democrats, however. Charles Hays and Charles Pelham became Republicans. On the Union side, Charles Pierce turned in his blues after coming south with the war and served as a Democrat. The veterans did not line up then simply as gray native Democrats and blue northern Republicans. Hays, Pelham and Pierce broke the neat ranks. (See columns IV, IX and X in Table 1.)

The non-veterans clustered for the most part on the Republican side. None of the three black men who became Cotton State congressmen during Reconstruction soldiered in either

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[15]See William S. Hoole, *Alabama Tories: The First Alabama Cavalry, U.S.A., 1862-1865* (Tuscaloosa, 1960), 14. Haughey later was found on the roster of the Third Regiment, Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. On the origins of opponents to Democrats, see Thomas B. Alexander, "Persistent Whiggery in Alabama and the Lower South, 1860-1867" *Alabama Review* 12 (1959): 35-52, and "Persistent Whiggery in the Confederate South, 1860-1877" *Journal of Southern History* 27 (1961): 305-29; Allen W. Trelease, "Who were the Scalawags?" *Journal of Southern History* 29 (1963): 445-468; also see rebuttal to Trelease by David Donald, ibid, 30 (1964): 253-257; Woolfolk [Wiggins], "The Role of the Scalawag in Alabama Reconstruction," also deals with origins. Also see Hugh C. Bailey, "Disloyalty in Early Confederate Alabama" *Journal of Southern History* 23 (1957): 522-528.

army. After the war they, of course, became Republicans. Three other non-veterans were also Republicans; they were Alabama-born Sheats and southern-born Heflin and White. The Liberal Republican Bromberg was also a non-veteran. Although born in the North, he lived in Alabama from the time he was one-year-old until he returned north to study chemistry at Harvard before the war; he was there in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when the war started and he stayed to tutor mathematics until the fighting was finished. The last of the non-veterans was the Democrat Peter Dox. Like Bromberg, Dox was born in New York; he had come to Alabama in 1856, and when the war came in 1861 he sat it out. Six of the eight (75.0% non-veterans then were Republicans; one (12.55%) was a liberal Republican, and one was a Democrat.

Neither geographic origin nor sectional allegiance shown by Civil War service exactly coincided with party allegiance then. The Democratic Reconstruction representatives showed the most homogeneity, however: nine of the ten were Civil War veterans; Dox was the only non-veteran, and Pierce was the only veteran who had served the Union. The other eight Democrats had served the Confederacy. Six of the eight were native sons of Alabama; the other two — Handley and Forney — were born respectively in Georgia and North Carolina. The Conservative Democrat Sloss was an Alabama-born Confederate veteran.

The Republicans were a more mixed group; eight of the fourteen (57.1%) were Civil War veterans; six (42.8%) had served the Union and two (14.3%) the Confederacy. All six Republican non-veterans were southern-born men. Two of the three black representatives who had not fought were slaves during the war; the other had been in Canada. Another of the Republican non-veterans had spent the war in a Confederate prison. The two others — White and Heflin — were forty-five and forty-six years old, respectively, when the war started; their age hardly prevented them from taking up arms, but neither did it push them to the front of the lines.

The general picture that emerged then showed the Democrats overwhelmingly as sons of the South who had soldiered for her cause; but the Republicans were scattered in the pic-

ture: the four northern-born men had fought for the Union; North Carolina-born Callis, who had been raised for the most part in Wisconsin, fought for the Union, too. The only two Republicans who fought for the Confederacy were the North Carolina-born Pelham and the Alabama-born Hays.

As sons of the South who had supported her cause in battle but then become representatives as Republicans, Pelham and Hays suffered many a cry against their character. Democratic opponents charged both men with being turncoats. Before the twenty-six-year-old Pelham went to war in 1861, he had declared no party allegiance. So whether he changed persuasions was not clear. At first glance, however, Hays did appear to have changed sides. Before the war he had been a Democrat. In fact, he had served as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1860. So he had switched parties when he became a Republican. Yet his switch was not so sharp a change as it first appeared. He had been a Douglas-Democrat, not a hard-line Breckenridge secessionist. Under the title Southern Democrats, however, the secessionists carried the Cotton State in the 1860 election; so Hays had been out of step with the ruling Democrats in his state even before the war. His shift to the Republican Party after the war simply followed the break that had occurred in 1860. He had not turned his back on his political principles. Moreover, he evidently satisfied his constituents of his sincerity, for they elected him to four successive terms in the House.[16]

Hays' success no doubt irked the Democrats and intensified their assaults against his character. Yet like most of his colleagues who served the Cotton State as congressmen during Reconstruction, he appeared solid in character and qualified for his seat. The background of the men showed them, in fact, to be relatively well educated and politically experienced before their election to Congress. Fifteen of the twenty-six (57.7%), for example, had attended college; fourteen (53.8%) were law-

[16]See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress,* s.v., "Hays, Charles"; and *Historical Statistics,* 1075-76, "Electoral Vote Cast for the Presidency, by State and Political Party: 1804 to 1968." The Southern Democrats polled 54.4 per cent of Alabama's popular vote for the Presidency in 1860; the regular Democrats polled 15.5 per cent and the Constitutional Unionists polled 31.1 per cent. The Republicans got virtually no votes. Ibid, 1080.

yers, and twenty-two (84.6%) had held government office prior to their election to Congress. (See columns XI-XIII in Table 1.)

In education and experience, no significant difference emerged between Democats and Republicans. Among all Alabama's Reconstruction representatives, only Georgia-born Democrat William A. Handley had not gone to college or practiced law or held government office before his election to Congress. Overall, though, the Democrats scored high in the three categories — slightly higher than the Republicans, in fact. Seven of the Democrats had each attended college, practiced law and held government office prior to their election to Congress. Only two Republicans had done that. As a group then, the Democrats held an edge.

Examined category-by-category, however, the differences by party appeared slight. Eight of the ten Democrats had, for example, attended college; so had eight of the Republicans. But there were fourteen Republicans, so the Democrats had a proportional edge (80.0% vs. 57.1%). Two of the Republicans had been slaves until the end of the war and were, thus, effectively barred from college. Withdrawing them from the comparison reduced the edge (to 80.0% vs. 66.7%). The Democrats numbered seven lawyers; the Republicans had six (70.0% vs. 50.0%). Nine Democrats and eight Republicans had held office prior to their election to Congress (90.0% to 57.1%). The proportions in each category favored the Democrats, but the whole numbers were about even.

The Democrats' edge was too small to be statistically significant, yet it provided them with a basis to say their men were generally more educated and experienced than the Republicans. Their men were also slightly older when they were first elected to Congress, averaging 44.5 years of age compared to 42.0 years for the Repblicans. By party the representatives then looked much the same.

The native Alabamians stood out, however, as a sub-group among the men. Of the ten representatives born in the Cotton State, seven attended college, eight practiced law and all ten held public office prior to their election to Congress. Also, they were significantly younger than the other men, averaging 40.5 years of age at their election. The northern-born men

were the oldest sub-group, averaging 44.8 years of age; among the seven of them, five (71.4%) attended college, two (28.6%) practiced law, and six (85.7%) held office before their first election to Congress from Alabama. The men born in the South outside of Alabama averaged 44.1 years of age when elected; two (25.0%) of the eight attended college — that increased to two of six (33.3%) if the two enslaved blacks are excluded — four (50.0%) practiced law, and five (62.5%) held prior public office. So the sons of Alabama led in each category.

The cast of the state's Congressional delegation improved then according to education and legal and political experience as more native Alabamians were elected. In terms of education for example, more of the representatives in the Forty-fourth Congress had attended college than those in the Fortieth Congress. The progression was not a straight line, though. Four of the six (66.7%) representatives in the Fortieth Congress had attended college. All six in the Forty-first had, however. In the Forty-second and Forty-third Congress only half of the men had attended college. In the Forty-fourth Congress seven of the eight (87.5%) had attended college. The number of lawyers increased at the same time: the Fortieth Congress had one (16.7%), the Forty-first and Forty-second had two each (33.3%), and the Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congress each had six (75.0%). The experience of prior officeholding increased in much the same way: it went from two (33.3%) in the Fortieth Congress, to four (66.7%) in the Forty-first and Forty-second, to six (75.0%) in the Forty-third, to all eight (100%) in the Forty-fourth Congress.

Alabama's Reconstruction representatives had changed over time then. Men born and bred in the North had served in the beginning of the period, and their education and experience were generally less than that of the men who followed them to the U.S. House. Yet these men failed to fit the stereotype of carpetbaggers, at least as the Democrats had cast the charge. Two of the northern-born representatives were themselves Democrats. And as for dominating the delegation, the northern-born men were in the majority only once: in their brief service during the Fortieth Congress.

The most dominant group among the representatives was

the native Alabamians. No others matched them as a group in education and experience or in terms of service: the sons of Alabama held fifteen (44.1%) of the thirty-four U.S. House seats their state had during the period. Six of the ten natives were Democrats; one was a Conservative Democrat, and three were Republicans. That meant 60.0 per cent of the Democrats were native sons while only 21.4 per cent of the Republicans were. The Democrats tried to turn that fact into political profit.

Re-employing their pre-war pattern, the Democrats portrayed themselves as the party of the South. They praised their native sons while pilloring those who had joined the Republicans; and preying on sectional animosity and parochialism, they condemned the character of the Yankee-born Republicans and of the Republicans born in the South outside of Alabama. They were simply serving their own interests, however, for they launched no complaints against their own two Yankee-born Democrats and their own two representatives born in the South outside the Cotton State.[17]

The carpetbag-scalawag charge emerged from the bias of partisan politics then, and for the most part blamed men simply for being Republicans. Clearly it said little or nothing about the quality of the actual character of the men who served Alabama in the U.S. House of Representatives in the Fortieth through the Forty-fourth Congress. In profile all twenty-six men appeared reasonably qualified by their background for office.

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[17]On pre-war Democratic strategy, see Lewy Dorman, *Party Politics in Alabama from 1850 through 1860,* Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Historical and Patriotic Series No. 13 (Wetumpka, Ala., 1935); William J. Cooper Jr., *The South and the Politics of Slavery, 1828-1856* (Baton Rouge, 1978), esp. ch. 8, "Parties in Crisis" and ch. 9, "Victory and Defeat." Alexander, "The Basis of Alabama's Ante-Bellum Two Party System," 243.

"MY RELATIVES ARE LEAVING ME VERY FAST": WAR TIME LETTERS OF JAMES WRIGHT TO HIS NEPHEW

Edited by

George L. Mahoney

James Wright of Oswichee Bend, Russell County, Alabama, was the third largest slave holder and the third largest cotton producer in the state in 1860.[1] He was born January 21, 1799, in Somers, Westchester County, New York, the youngest surviving child of Micajah and Ruth Wright.[2] Both his parents died in 1811 when he was twelve, leaving James and his four older brothers and sisters.[3]

From what is known of his early life, James went South, possibly in the late 1820's, accompanying his brother Charles with a travelling circus.[4] James became a founder and Director (1833), then President (1838) of the Merchants' Bank of South Carolina at Cheraw, a position he held until 1855.[5] He also owned a cotton plantation "Balfour" near the Pee Dee

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[1]Joseph K. Menn, *The Large Slaveholders of the Deep South, 1860 Part I.* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1969), pp. 495-496.

[2]Somers was then known as Stephentown, but changed to Somers in 1808 to honor the naval hero, Captain Richard Somers, killed in the Tripolitan War in 1803. For further discussion of this see Thomas Scharf's *History of Westchester County,* Vol. II (Philadelphia: L.E. Preston & Co., 1886), Chapt. 7, written by Charles E. Culver.

[3]They were, in the order of their births: Rachel Wright (1789-1862), Daniel Wright (1790-1864), Charles Wright (1792-1862), Elizabeth Wright (1794-1863).

[4]Stuart Thayer, *Annals of the American Circus 1793-1829* (Manchester, Michigan: Rymack Printing Co., 1976), pp. 209-210. Thayer, using the "Charleston Courier," January 18 to March 1, 1828, has Charles Wright managing a menagerie preparatory to a trip northwards. Because of James Wright's close contact with Charles in the years to come and because he was the younger brother, this seems likely. His two sisters were married and his other brother Daniel had gone west to Ohio. A son of Daniel, James E. Wright (another nephew), was to spend some recuperative time with his uncle on his Alabama plantation after graduating from Princeton.

[5]W.A. Clark, *The History of the Banking Institutions Organized in South Carolina prior to 1860* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Company, 1922), pp. 103-105; 203-204. I am indebted to Allen H. Stokes, Manuscripts Division of the University of South Carolina, for these references and also for copies of letters of (a) James Wright dated 1828, which may place him here at that time.

[6]Letters and Papers of James Wright. Somers Historical Society, Somers, N.Y. (Hereafter Wright Papers).

River.[6]

His brother Charles returned to and remained in Westchester County, New York, where he also engaged in farming and banking. In 1828 Charles married Elizabeth Smith (1802-1888). The couple had ten children, one girl and nine boys.

James Wright never married, but did have an illegitimate son, James M. Wright, born about 1841 in Pennsylvania.[7] In 1850 James Wright moved to a newly purchased plantation in Alabama on an influx of the Chattahoochee River, not far from Columbus, Georgia. By the end of the decade James Wright was a farmer-planter-businessman with sizeable interests in land, slaves, banking and ships.[8]

Most of James Wright's family remained in Somers, New York and New York State. Three of his brother Charles' sons went South to be with their uncle. They assisted him in managing his plantations and hoped to chart careers for themselves. The first nephew, George (1830-1853), helped his uncle make the move to Alabama, but due to poor health returned to Somers where he died. The second nephew, Charles Jr. (1836-1862), followed in 1853 and the third nephew, James Jr. (1833-1899), in 1861. When the Civil War began, James Wright, his two nephews, and illegitimate son were all together in Alabama.

James Wright supported secession and the Confederacy. He thought the South would win the war and wrote determinedly and belligerently about "never crossing Mason and Dixon's Line again" and "fighting from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico." His relations in Somers, New York, were

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[7]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*. Russell County, Alabama: Schedules 1, 2 & 4. Taken July 7 and 17th, 1860 by James R. Giddens, Asst. Marshall, P.O. Vellula. Manuscript Census on microfilm lists James M. Wright, age 19, state of birth, Pennsylvania. Hereafter, references to 1860 Census taken from this source.

[8]In 1858 James Wright, in partnership with J. Eli Gregg of South Carolina, bought over 5,000 acres of land in Sunflower and Bolivar Co., Mississippi in order to open another plantation farther west.

With James W. Phillips, another nephew, he owned portions of ships and speculated in cotton. By 1860 James Wright was a cotton producer involved in all phases of the trade. He maintained business and financial interests in Cheraw, South Carolina; Somers, New York; New York City and Liverpool, England.

staunch Democrats, opposed to Lincoln's Administration, and interested in the "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge."[9] None served on the Union side.

The two nephews, Charles Jr. and James Jr., three years older than Charles, enlisted in Captain Brooks' Company, Georgia Light Artillery (Terrell Light Artillery), Georgia Volunteers and served with the Confederacy.[10]

Charles Jr. was an officer (1st Lieutenant), a popular, romantic figure with his horse and man-servant, stating, "I am ready to join the standard of my adopted state to fight for an honorable separation and fair distribution of property and territory."[11]

He was in the army by September of 1861, saw service in Virginia and then on October 3, 1862, died of "consumption of the brain" near Savannah, Georgia, at the age of 26.[12]

James Jr. was a private. He enlisted on May 15, 1862. He received a bounty of $50.00 and was for a period of time detailed as a steward in the company hospital. He survived the war.[13]

It is selected letters from his uncle James Wright to James Jr. from 1862 to 1864 that are presented here.[14] All were sent from Oswichee (via Columbus, Georgia) to the Terrell Artillery, stationed at Savannah, Georgia. Through the correspondence of these transplanted Northerners we share in a seg-

[9]The "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge" was organized at Delmonico's Restaurant in New York City by Democrats on February 6, 1863. "A propaganda agency . . . Supported by millionares, the Society published and diffused pamphlets attacking emancipation and abrogation of civil liberties and upholding states rights." For more on this see James A. Rawley, *The Politics of Union* (Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1974), p. 123.

[10]Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia (Civil War Records Section) and Wright Papers, Somers, New York.

[11]Letter of Charles Wright Jr., March 3, 1861, to his brother James, Wright Papers, Somers, New York.

[12]Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia (Civil War Records Section) and Wright Papers, Somers, New York.

[13]ibid.

[14]The designation "Jr." is used because, although he was not a junior in a father and son relationship, the designation is used by the Uncle in his letters to James, perhaps to distinguish his nephew from his natural son.

ment of the war-time life of the deep South and their own personal relationship. We grasp something of their attitudes toward the homeland and the homestead.

The Wright Papers (manuscript collection of letters) are kept in the archives of the Somers Town Historian. These archives are located in the Town House (Elephant Hotel), Somers, New York 10589. The entire collection is part of the Carolyn Wright Reis Estate, property of the Town of Somers, administered by the Reis Trustees through the agency of the Somers Historical Society.

James Wright to James Wright Jr.

Oswichee, Alabama
June 14, 1862

Dear Nephew,

I am in receipt of yours of the 25th. It is a good rule to adopt the endeavour to excel in all things that you undertake—And I would advise you to endeavor to do so as an artilleryist. It will commend you much to your officers, and add also to your position among the men—to those who excel the non commissioned offices are of course given, and very properly.—Take care as much as possible of your health,—Charles can give you good advice on that score.—[15]

We have not had a rain for about three weeks,—yet the corn generally looks very well the oldest is beginning to show the tassels—

We had to plow up all of Sunflower, and a part of the nice fruit about two weeks since,—the stand having been destroyed by the workers—

The health of our own people continues good,—Dr. Whitaker told me a few days since that there was a good of measles and dysentery in the neighborhood.—

[15] Health was always a concern and a topic. In earlier letters to Charles Jr. the uncle had often warned him, "not to expose himself to the midday sun and the night air."

Tell Charles that Capt. Lewis has been at Mrs. Rose's for two or three weeks, and leaves in the morning to join his regiment—I hear that Col. Cantry has written his wife a glowing account of the victory of Stonewall Jackson & the large amount of property captured.[16]

Yours truly,
J. Wright

December 16, 1862

Dear Nephew,

In your letter to James since ten or twleve days you stated there was plenty of game near your new camp and also good fishing,—I have no ammunition to send you—the waggon has just left here for Columbus, after more to be distributed tomorrow.[17]

In it I have sent a box marked to your address which I think I shall send by Express. If so I will pay the charges on it.—

It contains half a dozen rolls of sausages, some hogshead cheese, a jar of butter, and wrapped in a small brown paper you will find a dozen fish hooks and a line long enough to make three [sic] and then the box was filled with spinders [sic].

I hope it may reach you safely and in good time—

To get the sausage out of the box you rip one end, and turn it over and cut off in slices—

We killed about twenty hogs two weeks ago and as it is now turning cold it is possible we may kill again tomorrow. We have gathered the crop and it turns out very poorly.

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[16]Campaign of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley when McClellan was threatening Richmond.

[17]James M. Wright, illegitimate son of James Wright.

Capt. Dawson[18] was down last Sunday but I did not see him he will be here in a few days again—

The health of our people is very good.

I hope you are prepared to give the Yankees a hot reception when they call on you—

Yours truly,
J. Wright

(over)

Joe says that some of the men owed him money, and that it was to be paid to you. If you receive any I will pay it to him.

J. W.

P. J. Wright

Yours of 15th just now received. It was not necessary to sell your gata [sic]. If you had let me know your wants I would have remitted you money.

I go to Columbus in the morning and will enclose in this one hundred dollars for you—

February 1, 1863

Dear Nephew,

Your letter of the 28th came duly to hand,—We have a large proportion of our corn land broken up,—Have sown about 150 acres of oats and have fifty more to sow, the orchard has been attended to,—we expect to give it a coat of ashes and some

[18]Edgar Gilmer Dawson (1830-1883), organized and equipped the battery of light artillery named after his father-in-law William Terrell (1778-1855), in which both Charles Jr. and James Jr. served. Dawson had practiced law but planted extensively in southwestern Georgia. William Terrell had been a wealthy physician who had donated $20,000 to establish a chair of agriculture at what was to become the University of Georgia. Dawson had married Terrell's only daughter Lucy (1833-1910). Taken from Robert M. Meyers, ed., *The Children of Pride* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 1700.

manure,—I will have some socks knit for you as soon as possible and forward,—

I wrote you on the 28th advising that I had that day sent up to Columbus a sack of hominy, one of potatoes and a box containing eggs and sausages for you—I left them at the depot the next day, but they did not leave there until the . . .

I hope they will arrive in good order—

Three of our hands have been impressed into the Service of the State to work on fortifications about Mobile—they left three days since.[19]

The enclosed letter from your brother John was received since I last wrote you—

It has been raining most of the day, which will prevent us sowing oats tomorrow as we had intended.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

February 17, 1863

Dear Nephew,

Yours of the 4th was a week getting here the fault was at the Columbus Office,—

I lost eve t [sic] since the duplicate letter of your Brother John's—It is not necessary to forward it.

I would advise that you should give your brother full power to act for you.

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[19]Impressment of slaves was only one of the ways the government "disturbed" the life of the farmer-planter. Planters, although paid for their slaves' labor, usually did not like impressment and in Alabama there were county, state and Confederate impressment agents. For a discussion of this practice see: Paul W. Gates, *Agriculture and the Civil War: The Impact of the Civil War,* (New York: Knopf, 1965); Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy,* (New York: Macmillan, 1954); and Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation, 1861-1865,* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979).

We shall probably plant a little corn next week—

You may expect work soon, Hope you are well prepared.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

March 10, 1863

Dear Nephew,

Yours of the 1st instant came duly to hand.—

I can let Capt. Dawson have as much Palma Christi seed as he wants.[20]

I presume you think that I have forgotten the socks.

Not so.—But no thread was to be purchased in Columbus and we had to spin then dye and knit.—

I expect to go to Columbus tomorrow and will send three pair for you and Caesar sends two pairs of coarse ones for handy? They will go by express.

We have had frequent rains for two weeks and very little plowing for several days past—we have probably five hundred acres of corn planted.

The oats and wheat look well.

Dan was well on Sunday morning but during the day was taken with a congestive chill and died yesterday at 5 P. M.

We sent eight hands recently to Mobile and three previously, one of whom returned a week ago sick having had pneumonia. He is mending slowly. Let me know when you want money or anything else—

I have written to Mississippi about taxes, but can get no

[20]Castor oil was extracted from this seed.
[21]Wright is referring to his land holdings in Mississippi.

answer—It is probable that I may leave for that region about the middle of next week.[21]

Yours truly,
J. Wright

P. S. 9 P. M.

The socks have just come in and I find are entirely too small in the feet for you—will have them replaced as soon as possible.

May 22, 1863

Dear Nephew,

While I was in Columbus on Wednesday I saw Lieut. Barnard and from him was glad to learn that you would soon be able to get a furlough to come home.

Write two or three days before you leave and let me know the day you will reach Columbus and I will have the buggy to meet you at Ft. Mitchell.—

Jars are very scarce with us.[22] And if you have any too and bring them home with you, and we can return to you filled with butter, and probably honey.—

Barnard told me you had not yet received the pease—

No rain yet, and the crop suffering for want of it.—

All well

Yours truly,
J. Wright

[22]Jars were one of a number of items that became difficult to obtain. Wright mentions such shortages beginning with salt. One that can be seen from these letters in manuscript is writing paper. The quality deteriorates as the war goes on. For more on this see: Clement Eaton, *A History of the Southern Confederacy;* Emory Thomas, *The Confederate Nation 1861-1865;* Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy.* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952); Ella Lonn, *Salt as a Factor in the Confederacy.* (New York: W. Neale, 1933).

July 7, 1863

Dear Nephew,

I have two letters from you unanswered. The last advised that your company was about to leave for Brunswick—Your clothes would have been ready, but as yet have not been able to get the colored trimming for the coat and pants. I go to town in the morning and will make another effort.

For several weeks we have had an abundance of rain and the corn and potato crop look well. The oats are all harvested but we have not as yet been able to have them in—the crop grows so rapidly that we have been compelled to keep the plows running whenever the earth was not too wet.

James has all his plows now putting in pease in the . . . flat.

We have still some measles at the bend but otherwise not much sickness.

Mayberry, his wife and children have recently had the measles and one of the latter is now very sick.

Very great interest is of course felt, in General Lee's movements in Pennsylvania & Maryland—I have great faith in his success.[23]

Two companys [sic] are being raised in this county under the new call.—Boykin has joined one and I expect that James will also, although he can be of little service.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

August 19, 1863

Dear Nephew,

The enclosed letter from John giving the sad intelligence

[23]Reference here is to the Battle of Gettysburg which would be a defeat for Lee. Vicksburg's fall is not mentioned. Wright seems to have concentrated principally on the eastern, Virginia theater.

of the death of your Aunt Phillips was received a few days since.[24]

My relatives are leaving me very fast—[25] I wrote you on the 12th enclosing three coupons of forty dollars each which I presume you have seen.

In your letter to James of the 9th you speak of two of the soldiers in your group wanting some salt.—I am letting the soldiers have what I have to spare to some I sell & others give it,—But all the sacks in which I receive salt, I am obliged to return, *or* I get *no more*—I have no sacks to send them salt in,—But I will do this—Send each of them fifty pounds of salt to J. Ennis & Co. at Columbus,—some neighbor of each family may call there for it, bringing a sack to put it in.—And I will make them a present of it,—if it were to be sent on the Railroad there is no telling when if ever they would get it.

We are wanting rain for potatoes because of having had none for two weeks.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

September 21, 1863

Dear Nephew,

Yours of the 10th instant came duly to hand. I am sorry to learn that sickness prevails in your Company to some extent.—I would advise to keep under cover as much as possible after the dew commences falling in the evening.—By using proper precautions I am in hopes you will retain your health.

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[24]Elizabeth Wright had married James Phillips, thereby providing James Wright with three additional nephews and two additional nieces. One, especially, James W. Phillips, served as partner and broker for Wright in New York City and also corresponded voluminously with his uncle and relatives.

[25]This is a true if melancholy fact. Besides the loss of his nephew Charles Jr., Wright had lost, since the war began, two sisters and a brother. He had one brother left, Daniel, in Ohio, who was to die in 1864. James Wright, with a few in-laws and one illegitimate son was to be left in a world of nephews and nieces.

It is excessively dry here and the probability is that we shall make very few pease and scarcely any potatoes. Yesterday and again this morning we had light frosts. Enough to scorch the potato vines and in some places to injure them so much that very little will be gathered from them even if we have plenty of rain hereafter.

I have now an overseer at the Bend—A Mr. Wagner—a discharged soldier, has been in the Army a year. He lived last with Major Dawson at his Coleebee Plantation.

The health of the people pretty good.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

October 10, 1863

Dear Nephew,

The shrimp came to hand a week ago today, they are very fine and not all gone yet.

We took them out of the shell and put them in vinegar, and are as good now as when received—The twine had been cut so as to make an opening for the hand and probably some of them had been taken out.—I sent up to Columbus this evening eight hands who will go to Mobile to work on the defenses there for sixty days.

I sent up one sack of sweet potatoes and another of hominy which had been sifted,—In the hominy sack is a small one filled with the small white pease.

I shall go to Columbus in the morning and will get transportation for them and take them to the railroad depot—We had a little frost again this morning as the weather is now cool enough to send you butter, I have ordered a jar full to be made for you and take it to Columbus probably in about a week and send it by Express.

The government agents are impressing horses in this neigh-

borhood for the artillery,—They have not yet called on me but I look for them everyday.

We gathered the corn in Sunflower yesterday and today have been taking it from Bolivar—The cob however is not thoroughly dry and we shall probably hold off for a while.

In the Bend we shall not gather many bushels of pease as we planted.

Some sickness at the L. House at the Bend very healthy.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

October 25, 1863

Dear Nephew,

Yours of the 8th came safe to hand.—On the 10th instant. I left at the Muscogee depot at Columbus one bag of potatoes and another of hominy, with transportation for the same. I have not been up there since.

I have ready for you two new undershirts, and one old one reformed, one blanket, and a jar of butter, the latter will be placed in a basket all of which will be taken to Columbus in a day or two and sent by express.

I have given away some blankets to soldiers and we are running low on them—I will have a cotton comforter made for you and forwarded.

You can say to John that is very difficult to form a proximate estimate of the quantity of cotton on hand,—I do not think there has been made this year much over a half a million bales, and on 1st January next there may be in the Confederacy three million five hundred thousand bales.—[26]

[26]One of the few references Wright makes to cotton in these letters. See Paul W. Gates, *Agriculture in Civil War,* "Corn becomes King", for a possible partial explanation.

I can see no prospect ahead of an early termination of the war,—Nor do I look for foreign intervention,—unless a war should occur between the Federal Government and some foreign power—

At the Bend we have been gathering corn during the last week—the point did not turn out as well as I expected.—We have on the whole made a good corn crop.—

We are now preparing some land to sow wheat shall put in more than last year.

Health of all pretty good.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

P.S. 28

I send by Express, one bundle containing blanket and shirts and one ham,—one basket containing jar of butter, I want some more shrimps. I enclose ten dollars use the basket that contains the jar of butter.

W.

January 12, 1864

Dear Nephew,

In your last letter you acknowledged the receipt of the bag of potatoes and box of . . . but stated the sack of hominy had not come to hand.—I am surprised at this as they all left Columbus together.

There were about two bushels of hominy.—I enclose express receipt—that if not yet received you may get pay for it.

I paid six dollars per hundred pounds freight on all.—

The oysters were a good while getting here,—And were *all*

spoiled. The jar that contained those in the box, was broken.—Do *not* send anything more to the care of E & L.—It is not necessary to send to the care of anyone.

And it is hardly necessary to send any more oysters,—the probability is that they will not be received in order—

It has been raining most of the time for two or three weeks and a part of the time excessively cold,—Mercury at 14, 17, and 18

We have had a pretty high river—covered nearly all of the bend.—What with the rain and cold weather but little work has been done.

Our mill creek was *very* high and the dam required a good deal of repair.

We killed the last of our fattening hogs on the 1st instant 149 in all weighing not quite 25,000 lbs.

I will send you some more hogshead cheese and sausages soon.

Whenever your jars are empty send them back with any empty sacks that you may have—Do you wish more hominy and potatoes? For these last, it would be best to get a transportation ticket—if there was a probability of there going forward at once, as the express charges $6.00 per hundred.

Is there anything else that I have and you want?

There is no local news here.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

February 5, 1864

Dear Nephew,

I have two letters from you since my last.—That of 1st

instant the latest. We did not commence sowing oats until the 18th but I do not see any of (them) appearing above ground,

The wheat has not grown much. We have had good weather for plowing for two or three weeks and have all the mules at work, and the ground plows very well a light rain now would not be amiss—

I am ordered to send eight more hands to Mobile to be at Columbus on Thursday next,—I will try to send you a box there by Express.—

James has been ordered to go to Camp Watts for re-examination will leave in a few days.—

If Brooks succeeds in forming a battalion I think your chance ought to be good for a Lieutenancy. I hope you may succeed—We shall be glad to see you at home whenever you can obtain a furlough.—

Yours truly,
J. Wright

February 10, 1864

Dear Nephew,

I wrote to you on the 6th instant. I started the waggon for Columbus this evening with the negroes and their things bound for Mobile.

By it I sent a box to your address which I will send by Express, containing 12 sausages, some hogshead cheese, a jar of butter, 7½ dozen eggs, a bottle of vinegar—four pair of socks and some peanuts.

Also 2 pair of socks for . . .

We have had a great many cases of pneumonia at the summer house and there are still some—Edmund is now the sickest one there.—I forgot to tell you in my last that Jim the wag-

goner and head plowsman died with it,—a great loss, as he was a capital servant.

Rose died three weeks or more since.—Josey at the Bend has it the only case there.—

James went to Camp Watts on Monday for reexamination and I expected him home this evening but he did not come.

We have cool mornings and pleasant dry days plowing and cleaning out ditches the principal work.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

P. S. 11 Columbus

James has returned and has to go back to Camp Watts on Monday.

The examining surgeon says that a most-absurd order has been sent by the Secretary of War[27] not to exempt for Myopia—but whenever he gets to the Army he will undoubtedly be discharged.

J. W.

I have delivered the box at the Express Office

April 25, 1864

Dear Nephew,

I will send the waggon to Columbus tomorrow evening and by it send one box to your address which contains four shirts and two collars (would have had more collars but for the want of cloth) and two hams. This I will send by Express—I also send one bag of peas and one of fresh ground hominy—This may be sent by freight train.

[27] James A. Seddon, Secretary of War. The Confederate Government was attempting to expand the ranks for the 1864 capaigning season by severely limiting exemptions (New Law February 17, 1864).

In a letter to James recently you mentioned that you had been solicited to run for a vacancy in one of the Offices in your company but had declined.—

If you can be elected and have any disposition for it, why not take it,—I will furnish you with such money as you may require for an outfit, and afterwards.[28]

As you are now in comfortable quarters I hope they may not order you to Virginia.[29]

Wagner is yet confined to his bed and has been for two months.

Our strain of corn is not very good, but better than it promised two weeks since but it is all little stuff and does not grow.

We are running around it with the schooters following with the hay—We have planted more palma christi than heretofore and shall have some . . . sugar cane—Our wheat now looks pretty well, as good as any that I have seen, Oats generally a pretty fair strand but they are small.

I am selling some corn to the government but have received no money as yet.—I invested all that I had as I expected to be used in taxes,—If you need some money as soon as I receive any of the new currency will send you some.

James has not received an exemption but I do not apprehend any difficulty. There has been an entire change in the enrolling officers.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

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[28]James Wright continues his encouragement to James Jr. to become an officer. Volunteer units such as the Terrell Artillery were allowed to elect their officers. The first Confederate Conscription Act of April 16, 1862 (also the first in American history) had been partly designed to encourage volunteering by giving individuals thirty days to volunteer and avoid the stigma of being drafted. James Jr. enlisted May 15, 1862, just making it.

[29]This is one of the Uncle's first cautionary comments to his nephews showing concern about potential military involvement.

June 21, 1864

Dear Nephew,

I have two letters from unanswered.—(sic)

On the 1st June we commenced cutting our wheat and on that day the rain began and has continued almost daily since. Much of the wheat has sprouted and I fear there is very little if any that will be fit flour.

The river water was today over nearly all the point, the lower part of the Bend, the Beaver dam and Terry Hill, all the rice field and Sunflower and most of Bolivar, and a part of the Gaillard.

We have not altogether done two days work in cultivating the crop since the 1st June, and in that time about seventeen inches has fallen of course the crop is getting (grassy?)

The impressing agent took six mules and my large carriage horse from me. He took a mule each in the place of Buccame, Ned Dandy, Ronnoke and Boston.[30]

If I can I wish to plant the point again in corn when the water goes off.—

We are as well as usual.

Yours truly,
J. Wright

July 3, 1864

Dear Nephew,

We have had no rain since the 22nd last, And the crop is

[30]According to the 1860 Census, there were 12 horses and 75 asses and mules on Wright's plantation. James B. Sellers, *Slavery in Alabama* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1950), pp. 30, says, "Wright owned the usual livestock found on large plantations, but he must have had exceptionally good stock for, although the numbers of each kind of animal were not unusually large, the total valuation was $12,000." Wright words, ". . . took . . . . from me", seem to indicate a note of personal loss.

suffering much more than it would have done, if we had only light ones previously,

Our corn prospect is very bad.—and potatoes are not promising.—

I will send you the hominy as soon as I can spare the mules from the crop to send a waggon to town.

I enclose you the three coupons for forty dollars each—the people are now in good health—

We are so much in the (grass?) that I have hauled in only so much of the wheat as could be done by the oxen.—

Yours truly,
J. Wright

* * *

James Wright died intestate August 21, 1864 of a "sudden illness". He was sixty-four years old. Savannah was captured in December in Sherman's "March to the Sea" and Columbus, Georgia was taken April 16, 1865 by James Wilson's Cavalry which passed through Russell County, Alabama.

James Jr. and James M. divided the land, cotton and other property, including slaves, between themselves and continued to run the plantation. But, because of the confusion at the war's end, the nature of the uncle's death, the conflicting claims and number of claimants (principally nephews and nieces), the estate was not settled until 1877.

BERT HENDERSON: DEEP SOUTH PHILOSOPHER

by

Irma R. Cruse

Alabama's third poet laureate — Bert Henderson — was a part of a culture in which the Deep South idealism was still strong; he was a poet who looked at the components of life in Alabama and found them good. Like the first laureate, Samuel Minturn Peck, Henderson reveled in the beauty and the "feel" of the land and yet there was a difference in the approach the two men took toward their writing. Peck mentioned on several occasions that he did not see himself as a poet, but Henderson took his poetic compulsion very seriously and in his works there was a philosophic outlook that gave them spiritual depth.

The difference between the poetry of Mary B. Ward, second laureate, and that of Henderson provides a study in contrasts, also. In the case of all three poets, it is clear that their poetry reflects their family background and their individual life styles. Henderson's background and his financial struggles, coupled with his idealistic temperament, need to be considered in any analysis of his literary work.

Elbert Calvin Henderson was born on November 8, 1903, in Glenwood, Alabama, a small community now located on Alabama highway 331 between Luverne and Brantley in Crenshaw County. In some of the biographical data consulted, Bert's birthplace is shown as Troy — a custom adopted by many persons of the early 1900's who felt that, since associates outside the state might not be familiar with the small community name, they should identify themselves as residents of the largest nearby town.

Bert's paternal grandfather, Elder J. E. W. Henderson, was long active in the Primitive Baptist movement in Alabama. He was recognized in his community and county as a person of intellect with definite leadership qualities. He edited a Primitive Baptist magazine in the 1800's. His son, Elder Albert Holloway Henderson (Bert's father), married Jeffery

Faulkner, and the couple had two children, Elbert Calvin (Bert) and Louise (Now Mrs. G. Hamill Johnson of Montgomery).

Jeffery Faulkner Henderson was a quiet, reserved woman, devoted to her husband and children. Albert Holloway Henderson became a minister in the Primitive Baptist Church, an unsalaried position. He has been described as follows:

> Elder Henderson was self-educated, had a bright sense of humor and "a great personality," according to those who remember him. Though few people knew it, Elder Henderson had only three years of public schooling when he took the entrance exam and entered Troy State Normal School. In a short time he had earned his certificate to teach, later becoming a principal in the Alabama Public School System.[1]

The two Henderson children grew up in a home dedicated to Christian living, with the combined influence of a father who was both preacher and school administrator. Jeffery, the mother, died from a serious illness when Louise, the younger child, was seven. The long illness of Mrs. Henderson had placed great financial and emotional strain on her husband. As soon as Bert was old enough to help out, he took responsibility for many of the chores around the home, helped look after his little sister, and began driving a school bus in the morning and afternoon, adding to those duties the job of driving a gravel truck in the late afternoon.

Bert and his father were very close, sharing hours of talk, family jokes, and laughter. The years of strain made themselves felt, however, and the father suffered an emotional breakdown. Bert stepped in and finished his father's term as substitute principal. He must have done well in his job, for he was offered the school for the next year. He turned down the offer because he had decided to enroll in the Teacher's College at Troy. His willingness to leave home to go to college was brought about, partly, by his father's remarriage. The stepmother's coming into the home brought some tension, and a rift developed between father and son.[2]

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[1] Ruth Hester, "Bert Henderson", unpublished article, on file in the Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, p. [2].

[2] *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, Bert had found a job in Montgomery which helped him earn the money to pay his way to school at Troy. He became desk clerk at the Exchange Hotel, where Sidney Lanier, another Alabama poet, had worked some years earlier. He coached a basketball team for a while;[3] was a southpaw pitcher on his baseball team; and found time to play football in high school and college.[4] His continuing interest in sports was evident by the pride with which he kept trophies for golf and for fishing exploits displayed in his home.

The young man has been described as being "starved for knowledge, a perfectionist, never satisfied with his work."[5] He painted and played the violin. Sketches done during those early days showed merit, but he laid them aside in favor of writing poetry. His sister commented in later years, "He always had trouble sharing himself, except through his poetry."[6] During the few minutes he might find while working at the hotel, he would scribble verses or bits of other writing to be typed after he went home late at night.

After completing his studies at Troy, Bert enrolled in the University of Alabama, working at night, and continuing to study and write. In 1925 he met Geraldine Downs, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. E. H. Downs of Prattville; she had just graduated from Huntingdon College and was teaching school. The young people fell in love. Bert and Geraldine were married on May 16, 1928, in the First Baptist Church in Montgomery, with Bert's best friend, Ray Gould, as best man. His fraternity brothers from the University of Alabama, the Phi Delta Kappas, entertained for the couple. The bride's parents gave what was described as a spectacular reception. The young Bert Hendersons then settled into the routine of married life; and both family and friends were pleased when, at the end of their first year, word came that they were expecting a baby.

Geraldine died giving birth to their son. Two days later, the baby died. Bert was crushed by the double blow to his

[3]Trudy Cargile, "Poet Doesn't Rest on Laurels," *Birmingham News Magazine*, May 13, 1962, p. 8 and 11.
[4]Letter from Frank Coleman, Anniston, Alabama, to Irma R. Cruse, Birmingham, Alabama, January 28, 1980.
[5]Ruth Hester, unpublished article.
[6]*Ibid.*

hopes and dreams and it took a long time for him to regain his enthusiasm for life. He worked out much of his heartache and disappointment through his writing. In fact, his literary efforts became more and more a means of release and of therapy. The young widower entered a short story in competition sponsored by *The Birmingham News*. When it was published in 1937, he settled into serious writing. As he spoke of his experiences in later years, he commented that his work as desk clerk at the Exchange Hotel, and a few years later at the Whitley Hotel, gave him an ideal situation for writing during those times when incoming and outgoing guests did not require his attention.

By 1939 he had received an invitation to join the Alabama Writers' Conclave. Soon after that, he was invited to join the group of poets who had organized the Alabama Poet's Society. He became active in both groups and had his first book of poems published about a year later. That volume, *House of Paradoxes*, was published by Banner Press (then located at Emory University, in Atlanta) in 1941.

In that same year he led a poetry workshop at the annual meeting of the Conclave at Alabama College in Montevallo. His reputation as a poet was bringing with it invitations to speak to various literary groups. The handsome, well-mannered young widower was agreeable and sought after, but retained his privacy, was withdrawn, and had acquired the habit of pacing back and forth as he talked or as he thought about his writing.

With the beginning of World War II, Montgomery was filled with increased activity as military installations there brought newcomers to the city. Bert Henderson found a rooming house on South Perry Street, close to the hotel where he worked, and convenient to downtown Montgomery, and he engaged a room there.

The move to the Benjamin Bosworth Smith home at 1103 Perry Street led to major changes in Bert Henderson's life. The house to which he moved had been built by Smith for himself, but he had been the architect for a number of other buildings in the Montgomery area. He had drawn the plans for the Governor's Mansion, located directly across from

his own home; he was the architect for the Union Station in Montgomery and drew the plans, also, for Flowers Hall at Huntingdon College. In the latter part of the 1920's Mr. Smith became involved in a building project of major importance financially, but the business venture failed, and Mr. Smith lost everything he had in the deal, except the family home. He died a short time later, leaving his widow, a son, Fred, and a daughter, Mary Middleton Smith.[7]

Benjamin Bosworth Smith's wife was Mary Middleton, a member of two prominent South Carolina families. Her relatives on both sides of the family, Arthur Middleton and Edward Rutledge, were signers of the Declaration of Independence. Archibald Rutledge, poet laureate of South Carolina, author, lecturer, and frequent speaker at meetings of the Alabama Writers' Conclave, was her cousin. She had been brought up with the knowledge that her family had played an important part in the nation's history.

When her husband died and the family was left with limited resources, Mrs. Smith and her daughter, Mary, found it necessary to rent out one of their rooms — a step that brought in a small regular income from the young man who moved into that room. That man was Bert Henderson.

After living in the Smith home for a few years, Bert fell in love with Mary Middleton Smith. One of the comments made by friends who knew the couple was that Mary was a few years older than Bert. The two were married on March 2, 1946. They continued to live in the Perry Street home, and when Mrs. Smith died Mary inherited the property, but had no money to keep it up. The house became rundown as the ravages of time took some of the splendor and glamour away, and wornout wiring, leaking roof, and other signs of decay made themselves felt. The house was filled with lovely old furniture, silver, china, valuable paintings — all a part of the Middleton Smith heritage.

By the time of the marriage, Bert had become active in the two writing organizations he had joined and Mary

[7]Personal interview with Milo Howard, Director, Department of Archives and History, State of Alabama, by Irma R. Cruse, July 18, 1980.

entered into his activities with him. As early as 1938 he had been asked to read some of his poems at the Poetry Matinees that were an important part of the Alabama Writers' Conclave programs. At the 1940 Conclave meeting he was Dean of the Poetry workshop, presided at the Poetry Matinee, and read two of his poems "Singing Flame" and "The Country Church." His book *House of Paradoxes* is listed in the summary of books published by Alabama authors for 1946. Because of the war, the Conclave did not hold regular annual meetings in 1941-1945. In 1947 Henderson appeared once again on the program as a contributing poet at the Poetry Matinee. By 1951 he had published the book of humorous verse entitled *Blame Noah,* with illustrations by Miss Annie Seay Owen of Montgomery, and was selling his poems to such publications as *American Mercury* and the *New York Times.*

On a bright summer day about 1954 the Perry Street home of the Hendersons caught fire from the neglected wiring. The fire almost gutted the second floor of the big two-story house and did some damage to the rest of the house. It was a real tragedy as far as Mary was concerned. Helen Blackshear, a neighbor who lived on South Perry Street about two blocks from the Smith home, offered the use of a small apartment until the Hendersons could make financial arrangements to have the home at 1103 South Perry repaired.

It was hard for Mary Middleton Henderson to get over the depression caused by her losses in the fire. She would make her way down to the ruins and spend hours looking through debris, trying to find articles that could be saved. Helen walked with Mary often and has said: "Sometimes we could come across a fire-blackened spoon or a dish that she wanted to put with her other treasures, hoping it could be preserved. All Mary could talk about was rebuilding. . . ."[8]

Bert was sympathic with his wife's suffering, but he had to go to work every day. He found some relief from the emotional upset of the fire by spending every possible free moment writing. The couple spent more and more time to themselves, avoiding entertaining or going out socially. Be-

[8]Letter from Helen Blackshear, Montgomery, Alabama, to Irma R. Cruse, Birmingham, Alabama, January 24, 1980.

fore the fire, Mary had operated a kindergarten in her home and many children of prominent Montgomery families went to "Miss Mary's kindergarten." She closed her school after the fire and devoted much of her time to promoting and encouraging her husband's writing. She did more writing herself. She had built up a successful business of entertaining children at birthday parties, but she gave that up, too. That was a grim period for the Bert Hendersons. They were finally able to get some repairs done that made the first floor of the old home habitable, and had the roof repaired, and were able to move back in.

In 1956 Bert was elected president of the Alabama Writers' Conclave. His book of poems, *Eternal Symphony*, was published that year.

By the time Mary B. Ward had completed her four term as poet laureate, Conclave members were convinced that Bert Henderson would be a worthy successor. The Conclave nominated him to Governor John Patterson and, in a ceremony at the state capitol on Monday, December 21, 1959, Bert was officially named Poet Laureate of Alabama.

A feature story in the *Montgomery Advertiser* by Madera Spencer (herself a past president of the Conclave) described the event. Presiding over the twenty-minute ceremony was the Rev. W. S. Thompson, Vernon, president of the Conclave at that time. The new poet laureate was presented to Governor Patterson by Dr. Emmett Kilpatrick of Troy, chairman of the nominating committee and past president of the Conclave (1939-1941). The oath of office was administered by Mrs. Mabel Amos, recording secretary of the State Executive Department, after which the governor signed the certificate of office and presented it to the new laureate.

During the ceremony, which was attended by about fifty friends of the poet laureate, including a number of Alabama writers, Bess Lambert, Birmingham writer, presented a certificate of appreciation to Mrs. Mary Ward, who was ending her four-year term as poet laureate. J. Mitchell Pilcher was chairman of the arrangements committee (which included Mrs.

Madera Spencer and Mrs. Elizabeth W. Sheehan, both past presidents).[9]

Although bylaws of the Conclave set the poet laureate's term of office at four years, there was no restriction at that time in the number of terms he could serve. In 1963, Henderson was nominated for a second term; and he was serving a third term in 1967 when his wife, Mary, died in her sleep early one winter morning.

Bert was crushed by his wife's death. They had been through years of restricted means; she had been supportive and encouraging as he threw himself into his writing; her death had come when their money was low and when he needed her to believe in him. According to a friend and neighbor, Bert left a note on the door asking that he be contacted at 365 Felder Avenue, and he fled from the Perry Street house to the hotel where he found an unoccupied room and locked himself in.[10]

He had to come out of that room, of course, and face the reality of Mary's death. All the sadness of arranging for a funeral, of greeting friends and relatives, had to be faced. The circumstances were especially tragic because the ground was frozen so hard during one of Montgomery's most severe winters that it was impossible to dig a grave. Services were held but the burial had to be delayed. Bert was distraught, and it took him a long time to be able to begin writing again.

He returned to the annual meetings of the Alabama Writers' Conclave, and accepted the homage given the state's poet laureate at official functions of the group, but it was obvious that his heart was not in these matters. He spent most of his time at the Conclave with his close friends, Charles C. McWhorter of Moulton, Frank Coleman of Anniston, and Dr. W. S. Thompson of Vernon. After about 1971 or 1972 he did not return to Conclave meetings, becoming almost a recluse, except for contacts with one or two close friends in Montgomery. Bert's death came on a Saturday afternoon, September 15, 1974,

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[9]Madera Spencer, "Montgomerian Given Title of Poet Laureate for State," *Montgomery Advertiser,* December 22, 1959.
[10]Interview, Milo Howard, July 18, 1980.

as he sat in the living room of one of those close friends, watching a major league ball game. He was buried in Greenwood Cemetery in Montgomery.

A backward glance at the events of the poet laureate's life reveals clearly that Mary Middleton Smith Henderson and a few close friends gave Bert the support and encouragement he needed at crucial periods. Mary had great creative ability and talent in writing, but she sublimated her own interests as she worked at promoting her husband's work. Bert referred to his wife as his severest critic and right-arm assistant. She said that he was a writer of many moods. In an interview with Trudy Cargile, Mary commented: "I am constantly amazed at his range—from agrarian studies of farm people to children, from the humorous to the romantic."[11] Miss Cargile referred to the fact that Mrs. Henderson had started working on a collection of verse of her own, dealing with and written to appeal to children and parents. Since she had the years of experience in teaching in kindergarten as well as entertaining children at birthday parties, she had the knowledge and expertise that would have equipped her for a writing career of her own in the field of juvenile literature had she lived.[12]

One of the closest friends of Bert was Rebecca Agnew Holt of Montgomery, another person who was convinced of his genius. She, like his wife, encouraged him and assisted with the Conclave program one year at least by appearing on one of the panels. In his later years after his wife died, the poet found a sympathetic friend in the person of Kathryn Westcott Crenshaw, another Montgomerian. In fact, according to several reports, he was in Mrs. Crenshaw's home at the time of his death. The Conclave friends, other writers, gave him verbal and emotional support as he worked to get his own poetry into print and to encourage young writers who turned to him for help.

Among the published works of Bert Henderson are *House of Paradoxes* (1941), *Bright Armor* (1950), *Blame Noah* (1953), *Eternal Symphony* (1956), *The Immortal Legions* (1966), and *The Ultimate Harvest,* accepted in 1973 but returned unpublished after his death. He was a contributor to

[11]Cargile, *Birmingham News Magazine,* May 13, 1962.
[12]*Ibid.*

The New York Times, American Mercury, Southern Literary Messenger, and many other magazines. He edited a poetry column for three years.[13]

Honors and awards marked the poet's last years. In competition among poets of sixty-five countries, he received the International Award given by Poets Laureate International for his book *Immortal Legions.* The presentation was made at an awards banquet in the Manila Hotel in Manila hosted by the American Embassy. Henderson received a gold medal inscribed by the President of the Philippines, with laurel wreath and citation. He was given the honorary degree of Litt. D. by the China Arts Collective, World University and University of Asia. He received a Diploma of Merit from the president of Poets Laureate International and numerous awards from the Poetry Society of Alabama.

Henderson's biographical sketch appeared in the *International Who's Who in Poetry, 1974-1975,* which was published after his death. A fellow-poet, Mrs. Rosamon Henderson of Birmingham, set seven of his poems to music. His works were read over CBS, NBC, and Mutual networks. He won a national awards given by CBS to add to his other prizes and awards given by radio, local, and network programs. He wrote one long folk poem for possible television adaptation.

With the long list of awards and other recognition for Henderson, a reader finds it difficult to be objective in appraising his work. The subject matter is varied, as already mentioned, but his major work was written to commemorate the Civil War Centennial and was his last published volume to appear during Henderson's lifetime.

Acknowledgments of work previously printed in publications of national scope indicate the variety of markets that Henderson's work had reached. Among those are *The Lyric, Oregonian Verse, The American Bard, Wisconsin Poetry Magazine, Progressive Farmer, Caravan, Mobile Press-Register, South Magazine, Scimitar & Song, The Bard, Explorer Magazine, Alabama Historical Quarterly, Parish Bulletin, Whispers,*

[13] *International Who's Who in Poetry, 1974-1975* (Cambridge, England, 1975), p. 196.

and others.

Perhaps the best-known and most popular of the five published books of poetry of Alabama's third poet laureate is *Eternal Symphony*, first published in 1956, the year of his presidency of the Alabama Writers' Conclave. A second printing by Banner Press of Birmingham appeared in 1962 as a part of the Versecraft Series. *Eternal Symphony* is dedicated to Mary Middleton with the moving statement "for this is her book." That kind of dedication speaks immediately about the kind of man who is writing—gentle, loving, and appreciative.

Henderson has divided his poems into sections according to subject matter, although there are certain themes that run throughout the book. The first group of thirteen poems is classified as "Eternal Symphony," and individual subjects include "Proud Journey," "Cathedral," "Counsel," "Eternal Symphony," "A Prayer," "On Listening to My Father," "Of Words," "My Heart Cried Out," "Prayer for a New Home," "An Agnostic Speaks," "Nothing Alone," "The Testament," and "Hearts Never Need to Sorrow."

If there were no biographical information available about the poet himself, it would be easy to see from the context of his work that he is a man to whom duty is important, that he has a religious background and a strong personal faith, that he is a person who has lived close to the earth, and that he is well-acquainted with both joy and sorrow. There is little emphasis placed on formal worship but the individual and personal relationship with God comes through clearly:

Proud Journey

I have watched Him rustle the leaves of a waiting aspen
With quiet fingers, and loose a symphony
Of wind to the listening hills, that echoed softly
An infinite melody.[14]

The poet's references to duty are coupled with those of beauty:

Lead me in the paths of duty.
Keep my heart aware of beauty.[15]

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[14]Bert Henderson, *Eternal Symphony* (Birmingham, 1962), p. 14.
[15]*Ibid.*, p. 17.

In the "Prayer for a New Home" there is that reminder of the importance of duty showing up again:

Help us to keep

This house a sanctuary we may share
With those we love—a haven set apart—
Of peace and hope, of earnest dedication
To the simple ritual of duty. . . .[16]

In addition to the poems grouped around "Eternal Symphony," there are the following subdivisions:

Infinite Wonder (eleven poems)
Turn of the Seasons (seventeen poems)
Beauty Is Articulate (twenty poems)
Wings of the Mind (twenty-two poems)
From the Crucible (twelve poems).

In "Souls May Go Hungry" there is the duty reminder again as he concludes a lyric that begins:

She stood beyond the sill and looked across
The furrowed acres stretching to the south,
And felt within her heart a sudden loss
She could not understand. . . .

She rang the dinner bell behind the shed
Souls may go hungry—bodies must be fed.[17]

The ability to understand the longings and heartaches of daily life in a rural setting shows through some of the poet's poems about the people he has known well. There is a poem called "Relativity" that speaks eloquently of this insight:

She was content. She never asked or wanted
What lay beyond the hour of the day
That circumscribed her life. Nor was she haunted
By ghosts of fear or want. She had a way
Of making out when flood or drought would claim

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

The fields or pastureland. She always said
Things evened up, and if a bad year came,
A better one was sure to lie ahead.
She felt no lack of things she did not own.
She did not miss what she had never known.[18]

The same type of understanding is apparent when he contrasts the goals and dreams of Dan Barfield and Ezekiel Brown in "Past The Barfield Place":

The tracks ran by Dan Barfield's place,
And every afternoon at four,
The Limited Express would race,
With whistle blast and a mighty roar,
Across the trestle and down the fill
By the western forty. And when Dan heard,
He would stop and lean on his plow until
The echoes faded. His heart was stirred
With a loneliness he could not explain,
For he always thought there would come a day
He would be riding on such a train.
He would sell the farm and he'd go away
From rock and stubble. A man had pride
And he planned on living before he died.

The engineer of The Limited
Was Ezekiel Brown, and when each day
He and his fiery engine sped
By the Barfield Place, he would often say,
On a farm like that he could settle down
And do the things that were in his mind.
He was tired of his journeys from town to town,
And he thought some day he would maybe find
A place of his own, with a bit of land,
A house, a barn, and a cow or two,
And if things worked out like he had them planned,
He'd have a tractor. They never knew
Of each other's dream, as the train would roar
By the Barfield Place each day at four.[19]

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

There is a tribute to Sidney Lanier, a poet admired by Bert and one with whom he identified more closely perhaps than any other because of the fact that both had been desk clerks at the same hotel. He begins with these words:

> I have been intimate with one who sleeps
> The deep immortal slumber of the great. . . .[20]

Another reference, a truly personal one, comes in the verses titled "The Magic Wand," subtitled "of M.M.," in which he speaks of Mary Middleton and her kindergarten days:

> Her magic countless children know
> I have seen her shining wand
> Open doors to lands of wonder,
> Taking little lives beyond
> The rim of time that they might see
> A fairyland of fantasy. . . .[21]

Another aspect of his personal life is revealed when he writes simply and poignantly of "My Son," the baby who lived only two days:

> He is so often with me—
> The son I never had—
> Bright of eye and strong of limb,
> Adventure in the heart of him,
> And never, never sad.
>
> Time never walks beside him,
> Except at my decree,
> So when we tire of childish things,
> We'll go to new adventurings
> And he'll grow old with me.[22]

In the publication of the Alabama State Poetry Society Bert Henderson's work is represented to the time of his death. The quality of his poems appearing in *The Sampler* is good and is representative of the subject matter that predominates in his

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

books—lyric poems that continue to reveal his closeness to nature and his roots in the soil of Alabama. His perception of the emotions and dreams of the people he has known, has worked with, and has loved shows through those poems that look hard at individuals and groups.

One of the few poems that narrow his attention to more sophisticated areas of life is one reprinted in the Spring 1972 issue of *The Sampler:*

Thoughts at a Cocktail Party

Call for refills lest the mask slip
  and the glib tongue lose
the sudden laughter, the clever quip.
  Let the mind refuse
to look beyond the elusive moment, the hour—
  time's truce will pass.
So pledge a toast, lest the heart cower,
 then shatter the glass.[23]

Although other poets write on similar subjects, this one seems out of keeping with Henderson's other work. It takes a hard look at the average cocktail party, of course, but this particular poet is at his best when speaking of different topics and more nature-related areas of human experience.

Much more in keeping with the themes he usually chooses is "These I Would Keep":

These I would store in the heart's deep vault,
Ever to keep as the seasons turn—
Carillons of rain on an April day,
A heart's deep music, sunsets that burn. . . .

The poet laureate ends that poem with a couplet that repeats the refrain that comes over and over in his work:

Through the seasons I seek to find
Beauty to store in the vaults of mind.[24]

[23]*The Sampler*, IV, Spring 1972, 39.
[24]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

In "The Philosopher" he repeats what is obviously his personal philosophy:

They sat there in the lamplight. Overhead
The rain beat on the shingled room, and night
Pressed hard against the pane. Slow thunder prowled
Across the hills, and lightning deftly spun
A transient web among the trees outside.
The woman said at last, "Three days of rain,
The storm will set the planting back a week,
And like as not the creek will overflow
Into the lowland pasture. Seems as how
A body can't get started in the spring."

The man slow-packed his pipe and moved his chair
So he could look into the dark outside.
His voice was low. "Right now it seems to me
We got no natural right to criticize
The way things turn. Now take the wind and rain.
It comes according to God's way, and if he seems
To do contrary-wise to what we plan,
I reckon He's a reason. Here, right now,
I got a sort of feeling deep inside,
If He was here to sit a little while,
I reckon He could tell us why He lets
The rain and wind keep back the sun a spell.
He's got it figured out. The Book says so."
He turned and faced the woman. "Reckon that
I sometimes get strange notions, like the Lord
Is just a man who's got a pact with me,
And we can talk things out when there's a need.
It gives a man a comfort in his heart."

The woman smiled a slow and knowing smile,
And spread the patchwork quilt upon the bed.
The man relit his pipe and turned a page
Within his testament. An hour passed.
He stepped outside. No cloud was overhead.
A new moon rose along the eastern ridge,
And new-washed stars hung in the arching sky.[25]

[25] *Ibid.*, V, 4.

Among the many interesting revelations about Bert Henderson's appreciation of the encouragement from friends are the varied dedicatory acknowledgments for his published work. As has already been mentioned, the first book, *House of Paradoxes,* was dedicated to three individuals, Bert's father, Shirley Dillon White, and Mary Middleton Smith (whom he later married). *Bright Armor* is dedicated to "Mary Middleton—My Own Bright Armor," and *Eternal Symphony* carries the message: "Dedicated to Mary Middleton for this is her book." Henderson's last published work, *"The Immortal Legions,* is dedicated to Rebecca Agnew Holt, a close friend and one who had been a program participant for the Alabama Writers' Conclave in 1964. Her subject "Growing Up Knowing Little, Caring Less" suggests a sense of humor in her approach to writing.

The two volumes that preceded *Eternal Symphony—House of Paradoxes* and *Bright Armor*—were both published by Banner Press and were a part of the Versecraft Series. The first was a seventy-three-page book, with three sections. The first section included twenty-eight poems, and carried the general heading of "House of Paradoxes," from the title poem. The second section, fourteen poems, was called "No Certain Altar." The third section, "The Brimming Cup," contained sixteen poems, with the last poem, "Retrospect," written from a woman's viewpoint. The poet experimented with many different verse forms and the ballad-type story told in "Retrospect" is a form not often seen—with alternating three-line and two-line stanzas. Every line in each stanza rhymes. The poem is quoted in part:

I still remember the day he came
To my father's house and called my name,
And lit my heart like a sudden flame.

I was younger then, and my face was fair,
With never a wrinkle anywhere.

And he was tall and lean and tanned;
He courted me and said he planned
For us to live upon his land.

We wed one day in the village church;
I trembled under his gentle touch.

After the wedding my mother cried,
The men drank cider to toast the bride,
And I felt happy and warm inside.

And he told Pa that all his life
He had dreamed of marrying such a wife.

I kept his home as a woman should,
Baked and mended and cut the wood,
And helped with the planting when I could.

But after we plowed and reaped and sowed,
There was little to pay on the debts we owed.

One year when prices were good on wheat,
I bought a dress, red shoes for my feet,
And we had store-kept things to eat.

But next year weavils ruined the corn.
And Don, my seventh son, was born.

Like all the others he wouldn't stay;
Said that farming would never pay.
I don't know where he is today.

For forty years we saw it through,
And yesterday my John went, too.

He is lying now on the other bed,
And I, who often have wished me dead,
Wonder why death picked him instead.

I KEEP ON WISHING THE RAIN WOULD STOP,
THE GRASS WILL COVER THE COTTON CROP.[26]

Bright Armor was a ninety-page publication, following much the same format as the others; that is, poems were separated into sections under headings that were generally descriptive of the contents. The book has eighteen poems grouped under "No Greater Heights" and twenty-four under "Revelation." There are sixteen under "Infinite Search" and

[26]Bert Henderson, *House of Paradoxes* (Emory University, 1941), pp. 72-73.

seventeen headed "Criterion."

We can see again the personal attitudes reflected in several of the poems in *Bright Armor*. Two are quoted below:

Tenth Anniversary
(To M.M.)

The firelight flickers and the night grows late,
We sit and watch the hungry tongues of flame
Consume each mellow log. The hours wait
Upon our pleasure. Time is but a frame
To hold the golden years that we have known
In retrospect. The world is shut away
Beyond these walls and we are left alone,
Remembering all the heart may know or say.

Beyond the sill the slow tide haunts the beach—
We hear a boat's lone whistle through the night;
The ghostly trees nod slowly, each to each,
Their limbs moss-turbaned. Quietly dim the light,
And bank the embers. Our first decade past,
We find each year more shining than the last.[27]

Readers who follow the emotions expressed in the poem entitled "To a Mother I Have Found" will find it especially moving as they become aware of Bert's loss of his own mother early in life.

To a Mother I Have Found
(To M.M.R.S.)

Easter is here again, this hallowed day
On which we offer tribute to the One
Who died on Calvary, and try to say
A simple prayer of thanks for wind and sun,
And all material things; of hope and love—
Of music and of beauty in the heart—
The ministry of hands that reach above
The retinue of days. . . .

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[27]Bert Henderson, *Bright Armor* (Emory University, 1956), p. 16.

There is a part
Of my own life such fragile hands have reached—
To ease a pain, eradicate a fear—
There is a glorious spirit that has breached
A void I knew, and brought me very near
To one who filled my childhood, decades past,
And now but lives in dreams and memory. . . .
There is a life whose patterned mold was cast
In loveliness—in truth and purity.
And as I pay tribute this Easter day,
And thank my God for blessings I have known,
There is a prayer I reverently say
For one I deeply love, and call my own.[28]

Bert Henderson's poetry may be uneven in quality, but the good outweighs the less than the best, and the excellent appears so often that it keeps the reader exalted and uplifted.

It is satisfying to see his craftsmanship, his excellent use of rhyme, meter, and imagery. Mention of lyric poetry dealing with nature sounds like boredom until a reader finds himself pulled into the magic of Henderson's fresh, intimate, nature-born-and-bred word pictures. His poems reveal feelings, emotions, scenes that are common to us all—that we can all identify with. They help us recall our own early experiences and shed new light on old emotions.

For the prize-winning volume, *The Immortal Legions,* it is more difficult to express enthusiasm. The amount of research done by Bert is evident, and his subject matter—the Confederacy and the Civil War—is one that is sure of winning a sympathetic audience in the South. There are several flaws, however, that should be mentioned.

First of all, even in a book of poetry, it seems important to make use of citations, references, or bibliographical information to assure the reader of authenticity. None of that was done—or, at least, none was included in the printed text. It is a serious hindrance to the pursuit of additional information about some of the individuals mentioned—especially when the reader seeks to learn more background data about the women he includes in his text.

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[28] *Ibid.*

The printing and general layout, including choice of type-face, are less professional-looking than his earlier books. All of those weaknesses may have been caused by financial problems or by the choice of a printer; but they are obvious flaws. The third citicism, and a more significant one, is directed at the verse form used by the poet. Bert Henderson was a poet of immense talent and ability, but he used a mixture of free verse, blank verse, and prose in such a way that the result sometimes became a hodge-podge. Some of the sections are written with alternating end-rhymes, but they are artificial and strained. By making such an obvious, unnatural effort to achieve exact rhyme, he lost the feel of poetry.

The content of the poems is mature. "A Trap for General McClellan" has exact imagery, explicit details, and accurate characterization of the general. As Henderson introduces his readers to "Belle Boyd," he gives fascinating information about an obscure heroine of the war; however, the prose history camouflaged as poetry distracts.[29]

Even Shakespeare had his weaker poetry. In evaluating the works of Alabama's third poet laureate, the reader can find pleasure in turning from *The Immortal Legions* to the reflective lyric poems such as "Never The Same Hour."

Winter withers the leaf
That will quietly fall.
Still stands the tree
Sturdy and tall.

Winter will pass
And the tree flower.
But never the same leaf . . .
The same hour.[30]

Boyhood on the farm close to the elemental pulse of life put its seal on Bert Henderson. That experience gave him the ability to speak directly to the hearts of his readers. He wrote of places and people they could identify with, of the kind of life they knew. Like his predecessors, Samuel Minturn

[29]Bert Henderson, *The Immortal Legions* (Northport, Alabama, 1966), pp. 29-30.
[30]*Eternal Symphony*, p. 86.

Peck and Mary B. Ward, Henderson spoke to and for Alabamians. Alabama is a state that combines the rural life with an equally significant life that is tied to industry, to business, and to educational administration. After Henderson's death, a poet laureate was chosen who spoke the language of the laureates before him, but who enlarged the scope of his writing to include new forces and new voices. William Young Elliott followed Bert Henderson as the state's poet laureate.

FROM TENNESSEE TO TEXAS—THROUGH ALABAMA

The 1860 Diary of William Joseph Camp

Edited by William R. Snell

In the fall of 1860 over 20 residents of Chatata Valley (Bradley County, Tennessee) decided to emigrate to Grayson County, Texas. The group consisted of three families, a family slave, and her three children. Sixteen days of their two month trip were spent traveling through North Alabama and present an observer's impressions of some of the people and communities of the area on the eve of the Civil War.

The senior members of the move were William and Margaret Cowan Camp and their five children: Sterling, 24, John Lee, 21, William Joseph, 19, Archibald, 17, and their only daughter, Margaret E., 14. They were accompanied by their oldest son, James, 27, and his family: Susan Lay Camp, 25, their daughter, Darthula, 1, and the wife's sister, Miny Lay, 17. Their two-year-old daughter, Mary E., may also have gone with the son's family.

Each member of the Camp family had been born in Tennessee, and was listed in the 1850 and 1860 census records. In 1850 William Camp had real estate valued at $4,250. By 1860 his real estate was valued at $9,000, and his personal property was appraised at $12,000. He was financially much better off than many of his Bradley County neighbors. Archibald and Margaret had attended school in 1860.

Anderson and Malinda Coleman and their six children were the third family to make the journey. This family, with their oldest son, were listed in the 1850 census. Ten years later they had five additional children, all born in Tennessee. In 1860 the family included Anderson, 38, Malinda, 36, Patterson, 11, Isam (male), 9, Sarelda, 7, Rebecca, 5, Nancy, 3, and Arby, a six-month-old daughter. Mr. Anderson held real estate worth $1,000 and $200 in personal property according to the 1860 census. The three oldest children had attended school in Bradley County.

Mrs. William Camp had suffered a stroke six weeks after

bearing their daughter, so a slave, Aunt Ruth, was purchased to help her. Aunt Ruth and her three children—the only slaves the family ever owned—made the trip to Texas with the family. There were at least 23 members in the migrating party. Joseph, our 19 year old diarist, was the fourth son of five born to William and Margaret Camp. He had been born March 21, 1841, in Tennessee.

Reflecting his agricultural background, Joseph wrote of land, crops, stock, slaves, mountains, valleys, water, traveling conditions, and distances. For a person so young, he was a good observer. He recorded his impressions of the villages, towns, and cities along the route. He was impressed with internal improvements, especially the railroads and steamboats. Several fairs were in progress as they passed. Noticeably absent are references to God or religious observances, as were references to many members of their entourage.

Reminiscent of early frontier humor, we chuckle at references to a still, and possible rascality (Sept. 30). A broader grin greets the episode of Mr. Keller, who priced his "fine stock" beyond reason (Oct 1), and the antics of gizzardless Mr. Mills, the opportunist, who created an income over his self-made, impassable stream (Nov. 16).

DIARY OF WILLIAM JOSEPH CAMP

September 20, 1860. Today, being a pleasant day, we concluded to start on our journey to Texas. We began at about 12 and all our teams performed very well. After bidding our friends farewell, we pursued our journey about three miles and encamped at Hayes Camp or Pull-tite, where we enjoyed our first night in fine spirits.

Sept. 21. This morning found all of us well and everything passed off very well. We came to the beautiful town of Cleveland situated on the East Tennessee & Georgia Railroad where we halted some three hours on business, after which we continued our journey without any trouble. After traveling 10 miles, we pitched our tent in a beautiful grove in Blax Fox Valley near what is called Tucker's Chalybeate Springs. This valley along the Cleveland & Chattanooga Railroad lies well,

and from its general appearance will produce wheat and corn in great abundance.

Sept. 22. This morning we got a very good start and traveled without much difficulty through the extreme southwest corner of Bradley County and down Hurricane Creek. After traveling about 15 miles, we camped near the state line. The journey wearied us and our stock because of a very bad road through White Oak Mountains.

Sept. 23. This morning found us rolling out of Tennessee into the state of Georgia. Five miles of travel over a beautiful road brought us to the town of Ringgold, Georgia, situated on the state railroad. Ringgold, containing fine houses, a small business section, and about 1200 inhabitants, is situated in a very good country. Here we crossed the Chickamauga River and passed up Pea-vine Valley, where we saw the best corn that I have seen this season. After driving about 20 miles on a very nice road lying on the west side of Taylor's Ridge, we camped for the night at a small opening on a farm belonging to a man by the name of Lowery.

Sept. 24. After taking a good night's rest, we rose and prepared to leave. After breakfast we continued our journey. Today we traveled over some of the nicest country that I ever saw, although it is mostly of thin soil. We found some very good land on the Coosa River and two other small streams, which was the limit of good land seen today. We saw a good many cotton fields, and from what I know about cotton growing, I would guess that it is too late to yield a good crop. We also saw a great many gin-houses and cotton presses which is a right smart curiosity—to a person raised in East Tennessee. Late in the evening we came to the small town of Summerville, which is well situated for a large town, having a large spring rising on the west side and flowing through the north part of town. With no connection with any other place by railroad, and surrounded by much poor land, the town has never grown very large. After driving 20 miles, we pitched our tent for the night, about one mile south of town.

Sept. 25. This morning we got a very good start and traveled without any trouble along a very good road. [The

Alabama state line was about 10 miles southwest of Summerville.] The day's journey is mostly down the Chattooga River, where we found very good land and plenty of kinky heads [slaves] out picking cotton. These were the only people seen today except at a small place called Gaylesville, Alabama situated on the west side of the Chattooga River. After traveling about 23 miles, we camped for the night on the west side of the Chattooga River.

Sept. 26. This morning found us in very good spirits. We geared up and continued our journey without any trouble. Six miles along the road brought us to a small place called Blue Pond, so named because of a large pond, which has been sounded to a depth of 450 feet without finding bottom. This town is made of a small grocery, a stage stand, and a wagon shop. One mile from Blue Pond we reached the foot of Lookout Mountain, which is about half a mile high and had the roughest road that I have seen on my route. With all hands to the wheels and a good driver, with some difficulty, we got all wagons upon the mountain safe and sound. After about 12 miles we camped upon the mountain near an old acquaintance of father's by the name of Brindley.

Sept. 27. This morning we were on the road again by eight o'clock, and three miles of driving brought us to the turn of the mount where we went down. When we got about halfway down the mountain, I heard a powerful rumbling and roaring above me—something similar to distant thunder or an earthquake. There then broke into a scream for help—unsurpassed by the voice of Tecumseh—from a hack driver, who could be distinctly heard 7 miles away.

Sept. 27 continued. The hack driver's knees came into collision with my "dadies" side of the wagon, and broke about five of the wheel's ribs. The driver went over, his collar bone came in contact with a sand rock, which left a considerable piece of skin on the rock. As good luck would have it this was the only flesh wound made during this exciting time. All of this confusion was, nothing more nor less, than the overturning of the hack, with rig and wooden leg in it. After the hack was replaced, we passed on to a place called Van Buren, consisting of a square formed by horse racks, a doctor shop,

and tin shop. About 3 o'clock we came to the foot of Sand Mountain, where we got some mountain water, and by applying manpower to the wheels, as heretofore, we got upon the mountain with less difficulty than was expected. After traveling 15 miles we camped on Sand Mountain near an old gentleman by the name of Williams, who sold us corn for our stock by us claiming to be all for John Breckenridge and Joseph Lane [the Southern Democratic candidates]. That night one of our mares got loose and attacked another in battle, during which they both were badly hurt.

Sept. 28. We were all well except the old man who was scarcely able to travel from the wounds he received yesterday when the hack turned over. The day's journey was on the top of Sand Mountain. The sand, in some places, is very deep and pulled our horses tighter than any previous day since we started, consequently we traveled only 12 miles today and camped on the same mountain.

Sept. 29. Three miles travel brought us safely to the foot of the mountain. Two additional miles brought us to Warrenton, situated at the foot of Raccoon Mountain. We stopped here to take a snack of dinner at a large spring flowing out of the south side of the town. Here we found a widow on her way to Texas. She had been detained here several days, because her children were sick. Her name was Turner, from Hamilton County, Tennessee, who was on her way to Red River County, Texas.

After eating our dinner and letting our horses cool, we found that one of our mares was not able to pull up the mount, from a wound that she received the night before last. Fred Carrins, a man who was traveling with the widow, offered us the service of his mule to pull up the mount. By accepting his favor we got up the mountain very easily. After driving 15 miles, we camped on Shoal Creek with the intention of staying here until Monday.

Sunday, Sept. 30. The morning was very pleasant so I concluded to take a small excursion down the creek to see if I could discover anything. Everything seemed desolate and discouraging until I came to the creek, when all my imagina-

tion and wonder were aroused by one of the most sublime scenes that ever came before my eyes. In the first place, the water seemed to be as pure as ever came out of the ground, and was as clear as a crystal. Secondly, it broke over a natural dam of rock about four feet high. After rustling over the rocks, which broke its course some 20 feet, it made a perpendicular fall over a rock of about 15 feet. Down under this was a house—I suppose was built for a still, and from its appearance—I would not be surprised if there was rascality carried on at this place. From hereon down, as far as I examined it, the water ran almost unperceived under the large loose rock, which looked like a pile of ruins. About 12 o'clock Mrs. Tuner came up with her teams, and, having an extra mule, she proffered to lend it to us, so that we might drive off the mountain into the valley where provisions were plenty. Provisions were scarce where we were. After rolling out, a 7 mile drive brought us to the foot of the mountain at James Julian's place, where we found everything that could be wished for by a company of emigrants. Provisions were plenteous and as low as any we had bought previously.

October 1. This morning we found that our mare was still not able to travel. Some of us set out on a squirrel hunt while others struck out to buy some beef. As regards the squirrel hunt, we failed to kill any, but as far as the beef was concerned, we got plenty of good meat by paying 3½ and 4¢ per pound for it. This morning an old gentleman by the name of Keller came down the mountain and said that he had some fine stock to sell. We told him to bring it down as we thought that he could sell it. In the evening he brought down three or four old, gray horses. His horses were one-eyed, crooked-legged, hip-shotten [worthless], and sway-backed, but the old man flattered himself that they were fine horses, so he priced them according to his own feelings. He went back satisfied that we did not think much of his stock. Next we tried to get some sweet potatoes to eat with our beef. Some of the boys struck out over the mountain for that purpose. After walking about 10 miles, they landed back, with skinned feet and aching bones—without getting any potatoes.

Oct. 2. Today we stayed at Julian's. It rained occasionally consequently we did nothing but lay in tents and wagons.

Oct. 3. This morning it was still raining, and we put off starting until tomorrow. At about 12 Jim McCarty and Bordin passed us. Late that evening a train of movers from Cobb County, Georgia passed us on their way to Smith County, Texas. The company consisted of 100 people, white and black, and 17 wagons.

Oct. 4. This morning it was still raining, but by twelve it looked like it was clearing off. We rolled out and traveled about 5 miles and camped in a large swamp. The country that we traveled over this evening was surrounded almost entirely by mountains, but was some of the best land that I ever saw. It was heavily timbered and mostly low land.

Oct. 5. This morning we continued our journey and found a very rough road. It is a swampy area with the road made with a causeway [a raised roadway]. A 15 mile drive brought us to Somerville, Alabama, situated on the side of a hill, having for its foundation almost a solid limestone rock. There was nothing grand about this place. It is nothing more than a cotton-country village. The most complete building that I saw was the jail, which is a large brick house picketted in with posts 12 feet high, and has an iron cage in the side of the wall. From the appearance of the inhabitants, I would think that it was just such a house as was needed in that place. After driving 20 miles we camped for the night at the White Oak Springs.

Oct. 6. This morning found us on the road again. Four miles travel brought us off a very rough mountain called Limestone Mountain. Once off the mountain we found fine roads through beautiful cotton country. In the evening we came to Decatur, Alabama, situated on the south side of the Tennessee River. Decatur seems to have been a very busy place at some past time, but it is on the decline at this time. The most beautiful sight was when I came in sight of the railroad bridge across the river at Decatur. Just as I was viewing the bridge the passenger car entered it and passed through. We halted in Decatur a few minutes and a tremendous rain fell for about 15 minutes. Today we drove about 15 miles and camped a mile west of Decatur in a small glade.

Oct. 7. This morning we rolled out again without much trouble and found beautiful roads but a scarcity of water. Late in the evening we came to a nice little village called Courtland, situated on the Stephenson and Memphis Railroad. After driving 20 miles we camped about one mile west of Courtland.

Oct. 8. This morning we continued our journey and found some very good roads and fine country, but the water is neither plenteous nor good. About noon we came to a small railroad town called Leighton. After traveling 23 miles over a wealthy portion of Alabama, we camped about one mile east of Tuscumbia.

Oct. 9. This morning we geared up and started our journey. After about a mile, we came to Tuscumbia, which is a very old place, built in the old style. The fairgrounds at Tuscumbia were beautifully situated on a small creek west of the town. We had tolerable good roads today, but by being bothered with the [railroad] cars we drove only 12 miles.

Oct. 10. This morning we were on the road again, and 7 miles of travel brought us to Buzzard Roost, where we bought some feed for our stock. We continued our journey over broken country and took dinner at Thompson's toll bridge on Bear River [Creek]. This evening we had a very hilly road to travel. We crossed the line out of Alabama into Mississippi. After driving 20 miles we camped for the night on Cripple Deer Creek.

Oct. 11. We rolled on towards Jacinto, Mississippi this morning. Late in the evening we came to Jacinto and found the roads to be very rough and hilly. We passed but few houses today, and found feed and water to be very scarce. After driving about 20 miles we camped 3 miles west of Jacinto at a spring that does not run—made by sinking a gum in a pond and calling it a spring.

Oct. 12. This morning found us on the road to Rienzi, and with 2 miles of travel we entered the Tuscumbia Swamp, which is about one mile across. We found, on the west side of the swamp, a fairgrounds, with the fair going on. We did not go into this fair, but I saw a great deal of their stock and it is very sorry. At this place they are at work on the Mobile and

Ohio Railroad, and the cars will be running at this place by Christmas. A few hundred yards brought us to the town of Rienzi, which is a very flourishing little place. We continued until evening and crossed another turnpike over Hatchey Swamp, which is about one mile in length. After driving over 23 miles of rough road, we camped for the night on Ten-mile Creek.

Oct. 13. After a few miles we came to a beautiful little place called Ripley. Today we traveled about 20 miles and pitched our tent on Tippak Creek with the intention of staying until Monday.

Sunday Oct. 14. Today we enjoyed ourselves by gathering grapes, muscadines, hazelnuts, and chestnuts.

October 15. This morning we continued our journey and after traveling 11 miles we came to a small country place called Salem. We drove 21 miles over hilly, sandy, dry country.

Oct. 16. After traveling 5 miles we reached Holly Springs, Mississippi. This is a considerable place built upon a city style and has some splendid buildings that would compare favorably with most any place in the United States. The state fair commenced this morning and the streets were crowded with people, horses, buggies, omnibuses, and cotton wagons. We drove 18 miles.

Oct. 17. We drove toward the Mississippi River. First, we passed through a small place called Wall Hill, and about 5 miles distant, we passed through Buck-Snort. We drove 18 miles today.

Oct. 18. This morning we traveled early and passed through a small place called Taitesville. We traveled today in Coldwater bottom, and found the roads to be very good. We crossed Coldwater at Mathew's Ferry. After driving 25 miles we camped for the night on the west side of Coldwater River.

Oct. 19. We rolled out tolerably early this morning, because we had to drive in the swamps. We crossed Black Walnut Bay at Mathew's Bridge. After driving 15 miles through the

swamp, on a very rough, but not muddy road, we camped for the night on the bank of Lake Flour.

Oct. 20. This morning we got up to see a lake afloat with ducks and white cranes. Ned Simmons killed 2 ducks at one shot. Just as breakfast was over, 3 strangers came up, who said they had nothing to eat, nor money to buy anything. We divided what little we had with them and rolled out again for Helena. After traveling a few miles, we approached the Mississippi River, almost the king of all rivers, the second largest in the world; it is about 1½ miles across at Helena. The first steamboat we saw was the "Belfast." We crossed the river in a steam ferryboat and reached Helena, Arkansas, which was a nice little town. We drove 20 miles today.

Oct. 21. Today we got a late start, drove 18 miles through the swamp, and pitched our tent near a gum spring that tasted very strongly of copperas [copper].

Oct. 22. We had a beautiful road all day. We drove about 20 miles and pitched our tent on Lake Pleasant with the intention of trying to get quarters to winter in Arkansas, as the reports from Texas are that people cannot get bread to eat in that state.

October 23—November 2 [a period of 11 days]. We were situated on Lake Pleasant as above stated. We had a fine time in riding upon the lake as we were shooting ducks, squirrels, water-turkeys, and wild turkeys. This lake is about 12 miles long at this time and 100 yards across, but in the winter season, I learned that the White River overflows and a part of its current runs into this lake. On the opposite side of the lake, it is almost a solid canebreak from the lake to the White River. In this wilderness, so the people tell me, there are turkey, deer, panthers, and bears in great abundance besides the great amount of other smaller game that an old hunter would not notice. We saw none of these animals, but as for turkeys, we killed 3 and saw several more. The surrounding country about this lake is very wealthy—the land is good. The corn and cotton is very good this season, but water and health are very bad.

Nov. 3. We rolled out from Pleasant Lake. We had tried to rent houses from everyone in this country but failed to get them. Several miles travel brought us to Clarendon, situated on the east side of White River. It is a low and filthy little place, and I understand, that in the time of the overflow, it is all covered with water. They have had a disease that is similar to the cold plague, which has carried a great many of them over to Davy Jones [death]. We crossed White River at this place and found a tremendously muddy road from the river to Rock Roe Bayou. After driving 12 miles, we camped for the night on the west bank of the bayou.

Nov. 4. After three miles on the road, we reached the edge of Grand Prairie, where we were to find a farm belonging to James Moore, a man with whom we made contact while staying at Pleasant Lake. We were to make a contract with him to build him a couple of houses, so that we might stay in them until spring. After we reached the farm, upon inquiry, we found that the farm did not belong to Mr. Moore and also found it contrary to what he represented it. Being disappointed by not getting any houses, we all set a firm resolution to roll on to Texas and risk the consequences. Before us lay a plain that extended as far as a man's eye would let him see. We saw nothing else the balance of the day except fire out on the prairie which is a common thing this season of the year. After driving 16 miles we camped for the night on a ravine.

Nov. 5. This morning found us on the road again and we saw nothing but a few deer and prairie hawks skimming over the prairie. We met a couple of men who were after a man who had stolen a horse a few miles from Brownsville. In the evening we passed through Brownsville, a small town situated upon the western side of the prairie. After driving 16 miles, we camped for the night on the edge of the prairie.

Nov. 6. We were on the road again and found a very muddy road all day. We drove 20 miles and camped on the east bank of the Arkansas River in sight of Little Rock.

Nov. 7. This morning we crossed the river and found 5 steamboats, lying at the wharf, which came up the river in

the spring. The waters got so low they could not run. We found a drove of 1400 head of sheep from Missouri on their way to Texas. I found Little Rock to be a very nice place. There are some fine buildings and a great many business houses. We had a very rough road and a cold rain all day. After driving 20 miles we camped for the night on Hurricane Creek.

Nov. 8. The road was very wet and muddy. After a few miles drive, we reached a small place called Benton, which seemed to be a very nice little town, though of recent origin. We crossed Salem River and had a very rough road. After traveling 20 miles we camped for the night on a small creek.

Nov. 9. Today we had a hilly road, and before noon we came to a streak of country that had just been visited by a tremendous tornado that tore all the timber up by the roots. We passed in sight of Rockport, a small town situated on the Wachita River. After driving 22 miles, we camped on the banks of the Wachita River.

Nov. 10. This morning found us on the road again. We got along tolerably well until evening when "Sterl" [Sterling] stepped out of the wagon to a rock and put his ankle out of place. We traveled 20 miles.

Nov. 11. We had a very rough road over piney hills all day. Our stock was very stupid today, and we pitched our tent before night on the bank of the Antoine River. Today we drove 18 miles.

Nov. 12. We first passed through a little place called Antoine. We had a very good road and got along fine. After driving 19 miles, we camped for the night on a creek half a mile from Murfreesboro.

Nov. 13. We passed through Murfreesboro, a little, one-horse town. With two miles of travel we crossed the Little Missouri River, and we had a very steep hill to pull, after which we had a very good road the balance of the day. Late this evening we came to Center Point, which has some very good buildings, but scattered too much to make a nice place. After traveling 18 miles, we camped one mile west of Center Point.

Nov. 14. About daybreak, a thunder cloud came up, and it rained a very hard shower. After the rain ceased, we rolled out again, and had a very hilly road until we struck Salem bottom, which was very muddy. After we cross the Salem River, we came to a salt lake, where were some old salt works. We drove 20 miles today and camped on the prairie hills on the farm of Sam Henry, who was an old friend and acquaintance.

Nov. 15. We concluded this morning to lay over and rest our stock. It set to raining this morning and rained all day. We moved our women and children into a large shop, where they rested very comfortably. The balance of us stayed in the wagons.

Nov. 16. This morning we bade our friends farewell with a promise that they would be in Texas before long. Within two miles we struck Little River bottom and found it very muddy. We crossed the river at Mill's Ferry. Mills is a man who has neither heart, soul, nor gizzard. He felled trees and stopped up a very good ford and ferries his neighbors free gratis in order to charge movers a high price for crossing in an old decayed boat. After we got out of the bottom, we had a very good road the balance of the day. We drove 15 miles.

Nov. 17. This morning we had a fine road. Within about 7 miles, we came to a little place called Rocky Comfort. It is composed of a grocery store stand, and a horse mill. Two miles from Rocky Comfort we came to the line of the Choctaw Nation [Oklahoma] and here found a squad of Choctaws who seemed to be in a desolate condition. I saw several large, robust Indians who had nothing in the world but blow guns and the britch clout [breechcloth] they wore. This evening we struck the bottom prairie and had mud up to the axel tree for about 7 miles. After driving 15 miles, we camped for the night on the Jones farm, one of the largest and richest farms I had ever seen.

Sunday Nov. 18. We traveled 6 miles through the Red River bottoms. We crossed the Red River at Boice's Ferry, [entered Texas], and had fine roads the balance of the day. After driving 17 miles, we camped on a farm belonging to a man by the name of Pope.

Nov. 19. We reached the prairie, which is made up of what they call black waxy land. When wet is is awful to stick but when dry it is hard as limestone. We traveled very well and passed through Clarksville, a very nice little village. After driving 22 miles, we camped 3 miles west of Clarksville.

Nov. 20. We continued our journey through the prairie and had very good roads. We saw a great deal of fine land. After driving 20 miles we camped on a creek with the expectation of having a rough night.

Nov. 21. This morning we rolled out again after having a cold night. After 8 miles we came to the town of Paris, a beautiful town situated on a large prairie. We found upon inquiry that we had to go 20 miles further before we can find wood and water. We had a fine road over the prairie and night came and still we could see no timber ahead. We drove until about 2 hours into the night before coming to a house, where we bought wood to cook our suppers. We drove 30 miles today. [This was the longest day's journey on the trip.]

Nov. 22. Upon waking this morning we found the rain pouring down and the wind blowing. There was no wood to make a fire. We fed our stock and rolled out for the timber without eating any breakfast. One mile brought up to a little place called Honey Grove. After another 4 miles, we came to a small shirt of timber where we pitched our tent until tomorrow. [This was the last entry in the diary.]

The caravan reached Grayson County, Texas, on Sunday, November 25, 1860, after a journey of slightly more than two months which covered approximately 900 miles. The family had gone west to find peace and land. While the clouds of war soon engulfed them in their now distant dwelling place, some found peace sooner than others.

Margaret Eveline Cowan Camp, the paralyzed mother, died June 1, 1861, and is buried near Denison, Texas in a family cemetery. Nearby is interred Joseph Camp, the boy-diarist, who died of fever March 23, 1862. Life was taken from him shortly after arriving in Texas and just two days after he became a man (March 21, 1841—March 23, 1862). William,

the patriarch of the migration, died December 3, 1866. He was buried along side his wife. He had been born November 16, 1809, and was 57 at the time of death.

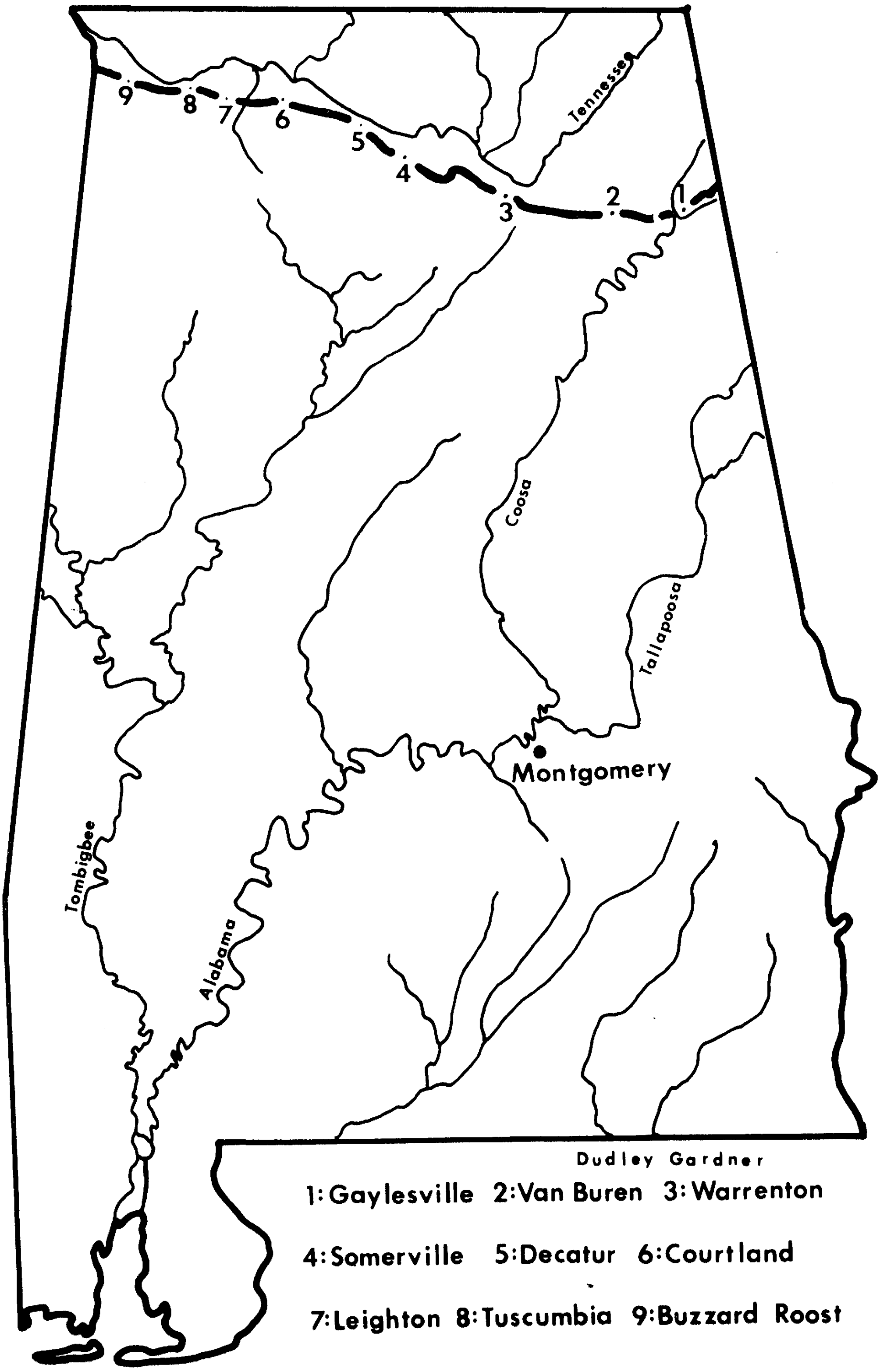
While the family had made the journey to avoid the uncertainties of "the impending crisis" of the Civil War, John Lee Camp enlisted in Captain Jim Wood's Cavalry Company (Confederate) at Sherman, Texas in February, 1862. He was honorably discharged at Melissa, Texas, May 24, 1865. Later he married Jamima Lay on March 19, 1866. A fellow traveler on the great trek, Jamima bore him four children.

Archibald Camp became a cowboy and made trail rides into Mexico, and eventually died in Mexico City. John Camp became a farmer and orchard keeper. He helped build the first school, known as the South Gale School, on the corner of his land. A number of the family's children attended this school, which was disbanded in 1952. John died May 18, 1931, at age 92.

Margaret married Jack McKnight, a druggist in Savoy, Texas. Later they removed to Dalton, Georgia, where she died in 1922.

After Sterling Camp served in the Confederate Army, he married Nancy Caroline Henry (of Blount County, Tennessee). The couple moved to near Bowie, Montague County, Texas, where they had seven children and spent the remainder of their lives. Sterling died September 26, 1919, and was followed in death by Caroline on August 2, 1924. They are buried in Oak Hill Cemetery on land taken from the corner of their property.

A copy of the diary was furnished by Mrs. Arthur Morgan Foster, Box 1296, Bristow, Oklahoma, 74010, who would be pleased to learn additional information about the Camp and Cowan families.



Dudley Gardner

1: Gaylesville 2: Van Buren 3: Warrenton

4: Somerville 5: Decatur 6: Courtland

7: Leighton 8: Tuscumbia 9: Buzzard Roost

Cleveland
Tennessee R.
LITTLE ROCK
Arkansas R.
Mississippi R.
Red R.
Grayson County
Rio Grande
Dudley
Gardner
KEY:
1: Summerville
2: Decatur
3: Salem
4: Helena
5: Rocky Comfort
6: Honey Grove
Trail

TO TUSCALOOSA AND BEYOND: A UNION CAVALRY RAIDER IN ALABAMA, MARCH-APRIL 1865

Edited by Edward G. Longacre

For four weeks during the spring of 1865 Alabama and western Georgia became the setting for the largest and tactically the most successful mounted operation in American military history. During that period some 13,500 cavalry, mounted infantry, and horse artillery under Brevet Major General James Harrison Wilson marched an average of 525 miles across hitherto unscathed Confederate territory, stamping out the last vestiges of resistance in the Deep South. On the expedition this huge, highly mobile command—a forerunner of the Panzer battalions of World War II—captured five fortified cities including Selma and Montgomery, plus 60,000 prisoners, 320 cannon and 100,000 stands of small arms, while destroying dozens of factories, foundries, arsenals, and other sources of supply for the Confederate armies. Cut off from communication with the major theaters of operations farther north, Wilson did not end his journey until arriving at Macon, Georgia, on April 20—almost two weeks after Lee surrendered to Grant in Virginia.

The most significant factor in the raid's unparalleled success was a side expedition conducted against the Tuscaloosa vicinity by 1800 horsemen under one of Wilson's subordinates, Brigadier General John T. Croxton of Kentucky. Having started from Gravelly Springs, Alabama on March 22 in Wilson's main column, Croxton's small brigade was detached for its special mission on the 30th, shortly after the command reached Elyton (now Birmingham). In addition to destroying the military utility of Tuscaloosa, including the University of Alabama—then serving as an academy for Confederate officers—Croxton was directed to lead astray any troops pursuing the main force. These included troopers from the command of Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate "Wizard of the Saddle," who were straining to stop Wilson short of Selma, his first major objective.

The 28-year-old Croxton did his job extremely well, sacking

Tuscaloosa, then blocking the path of a cavalry division under Brigadier General William H. Jackson and preventing it from menacing Wilson. Marching and countermarching in order to distract Jackson and to avoid a pitched battle against his larger force, Croxton's three regiments covered more ground than Wilson's main body. All told, the Brigade made a 653-mile circuit of central and eastern Alabama, passing through villages including Trion, Jasper, Talladega, Munford, Blue Mountain and Jacksonville, and tearing up a great deal of railroad track, before rejoining its comrades at Macon on April 29. Wilson welcomed the prodigal brigade with great glee, praising them and their young leader for their substantial contributions to the success of the expedition as a whole.

In the following letter, written two months after the raid and here published for the first time, one of Croxton's troopers provides the most detailed first-person account of this side-expedition ever brought to light. The writer, Charles Wooster of Company G, 2nd Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, a 22-year-old native of Hillsdale County, Michigan, had been a veteran of mounted service since the tender age of 18. Following the war, the young man would return to his home region to attend college and teach school, before moving to Nebraska to forge careers in farming, journalism, and politics. By the time of his death in 1922, Wooster would be remembered as an influential newspaper editor and owner and as a Nebraska state legislator.

Private Wooster's letter is part of a large collection of his correspondence, diaries, manuscripts, newspaper clippings, and miscellaneous material reposing in the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln. The editor has left intact most of Wooster's eccentricities of spelling and syntax; only paragraphing and essential punctuation have been added.

* * *

Macon Ga. June 25th '65

Brother John,

It has been my intention to write you a good long letter

and tell you all about the great cavalry raid in Ala. and Ga.; but it seemed like such a task that I kept waiting for a good opportunity and a time when I should feel just like writing. Of course neither of them came, and now I have concluded to wait no longer but to go to work and write a few things for your special benefit, and such as are not likely to be published in the papers.

It is always tiresome for me to write details, and in fact it is very seldom that I do it. I[t] seems to me as though I could never learn to compose so that I could sit down and write for three or four hours at a time, and enjoy it; and this is one reason why I wish to learn Phonography so that I can write as fast as I can think, and as I feel here very much of the time I don't think it would require a bit *over* 200 words in a minute, the number which a first class reporter is suppose to be able to write.

But if I remember rightly I proposed to tell you a little story, and so I will begin.

On the 21st & 22d of March Gen. Wilson's Cavalry Corps, M. D. M.—Military Division of The Miss[issippi]—which had, since the expulsion of [Confederate General John Bell] Hood from Tenn., been preparing at Waterloo and Gravelly Springs, for a campaign, marched from Chickasaw Ala. [just below the Tennessee River from Gravelly Springs] in a Southerly direction. This corps was composed of the 1st, 2d and 4th divisions under the command of Generals [Edward M.] McCook, [Eli] Long and [Emory] Upton, respectively, and numbering about 18000 thousand [sic] men.

The command kept together until it reached Elyton, a little town situated in a rich valey east of Black Warrior [River]. We made very good time, but could have done much better if it had not been for the waggon train, which hindered us one day so that the column made only five miles; and towards night the entire 2d Mich. was dismounted to help it through a succession of mud holes. No rebels were met in force but quite a number of officers and soldiers who were scattered about the country conscripting were picked up. I was a little surprised at our not being bushwhacked; but in all the cam-

paign I do not remember of a single instance of it.

We expected that after the first two days march from Chickasaw we would be in a rich country where plenty of forage could be found for our horses, and plenty of ham, potatoes &c for ourselves; but in this we were much mistaken. With one or two unworthy exceptions the soil is very poor and much broken. A great deal of the land is untillable, and almost invariably covered with a light growth of oak and pine. The pine is not generally large enough to saw, though in some place[s] very fine trees are found, but [they] would not probably make good lumber, except for rough work, as they are what is called Pitch, or Yellow pine and very hard when dry.

The people wear homespun and are gennerally quite ignorant; so much so that they often took our men for rebels, not acting as though they had ever heard of such a thing as a U. S. uniform. One day as we had halted near a house and were feeding the band began to play, when an old man came running up from the fields in a great fright, probably thinking that some horrid thing from the infernal regions had appeared on earth. As soon as he became a little cool, in answer to inquiries, he stated that he had never heard a band before and didn't know what it was.

Crossing the Black Warrior would have been quite an interesting proceeding to one not accustomed to such things. The ford was quite deep and very rough, [and] the current being rapid a number of horses and mules were carried down stream and lost; their riders gennerally succeeded in getting out, though I think that from the whole command several were drowned. One old rack [wreck] of a horse fell in the middle of the stream with an Irishman belonging to our company; after a short strugle he succeeded in loosing himself from his horse, and catching another which was passing, by the tail was enabled to reach the opposite bank. He was no swimmer and was considerably frightened; in passing a deep place he was drawn under, but kept fast to his escort, and on coming to the air again he cried out lustily: "O, be jasus! I'm drownded now! I'm drownded now!" The boys afterward made much sport of him, as he was one of those persons who don't believe they will die till their time comes; besides, an

old witch had told him that he would never be drowned, which he had great confidence in.

At Elyton our brigade—Croxton's, 1st [Brigade, First Division, Cavalry Corps, M. D. M.]—was sent in the direction of Tuskaloosa to take the attention of Gen. Forrest, who was known to be in that vicinity, while our main force under Wilson crossed a range of hills to the east and running paralell with our line of march, with the intention of outmarching Forrest and getting into Selma before him. When about 20 mi. from Tuskallosa we ran [a]foul of the rebel Gen. Jackson with two divisions [sic] of cavalry. As it was about night we halted, went into camp and laid [over] till morning, neither party seeming to desire a fight that evening.

As soon as it was daylight (April 1st) the men were in their saddles and were moving away, but were not quick enough for Jackson; for during the night he had formed his lines around our camp, by the light of our fires, was up as early as we, and [was] moving to the attack. It was not Croxton's policy to fight and therefore he drew off in the direction of the Black Warrior river, which he reached the same day at a point about 30 mi. above Tuskaloosa. Jackson folowed us till about noon and then left us, probably turning his attention to Wilson. In this encounter we lost several men from the 6th Ky. [Cavalry].

We recros[sed] the Black Warrior [to the northwest, before turning again south]. It being unfordable, and having but one little ferry boat, we were obliged to cros our equipments in it and to swim our horses. This was a novel sight. The horses were stript of everything, even to their halters, driven down to the water like sheep and pushed in one after the other and sometimes on top of one another; the[y] would go over . . . and once started they would continue crossing all day, providing they were kept well "closed up."

The command being all over and having a good nights reast it starts for Tuscaloosa. When within ten miles of there we stop and feed and wait for dark. In the meantime the Gen. send out a scout and captures a man who has that day been in town; he reports 500 men there, and also that there was nothing

known of our being in the vicinity. As soon as it is fairly dark the column advances; the Moon is soon up, the road is good and we have a splended ride.

On arriving with[in] about a mile of town a halt is made, and parties are sent out to reconoiter. All being in readiness the column again moves forward. As it nears the town another halt is made and the 2d Mich is dismounted, that being in the advance. The Gen. decides to capture the guard at the bridge [over the Black Warrior, northwest of the city] alive, if possible, and for that purpose two volunteers are called for from Co. G.; myself and one other thinking we would try our hand, divest ourselves of all superfluous equipments which might impede our movements, leave our guns and each with a revolver in his hand and a negro to guide us, we start for the bridge, folowed by good support within hearing distance.

We strike the river first and then move cautiously down; being within about thirty feet from the entrance of the bridge, we hear the guard slowly walking out. As he steps into the light he looks down on us and quickly chalenges: "Who's there?" "Friends!" I reply, but he couldn't "see it," and instantly fired; the ball passed through the crown of my hat, and he beat a hasty retreat through the bridge, folowed by our balls; as our support was up the birdge was cleared, and the man who first fired on us left mortally wounded near its center;—ther were 14 rebels in the bridge, in all. The regiment quickly pass through, and with the assistance of a guide take the rebel artillery—two guns—before they could get their horses harnessed. There was some pretty sharp firing, but we were so fortunate as to lose only two killed and some few wounded.

After our boys had got well in town the 6th Ky. band came up and played "[Ain't I Glad to] Get out of The Wilderness" for the benefit of the Johnies; they were not slow in taking the hint and the next morning none were to be seen, except a few which we held as prisoners.

A weding party was in the hight of its glory, when the Blue Coats rudely entered, arrested the bridegroom, who was a Capt. in the rebel army [Captain James S. Carpenter of Kentucky], and others of the gay cavaliers; the female part of

the company [including the bride, Miss Emily Leach of Tuscaloosa] was in great terror—the scene had sadly and suddenly changed. I *do believe* it is a *sin*, and a *disgrace* to the Yankee nation, that such proceedings are tolerated.

As soon as the bridge was take[n] I was sent back to carry word of our success, and to get my gun, having done which I mounted my horse with the intention of returning to the regiment. As I was nearing the bridge at a brisk pace, about fifty dismounted men appeared, coming up on a cross street; taking them to be our own boys I kept on and only discovered my mistake when they were quite near me. An old chap who seemed to be their leader advanced a pace or two and the folowing coloquy ensued; in the meantime those about him kept edging their way towards me, with their guns in their hands, and in the dim Moonlight peering curiously at me.

Old Chap: What's the news?

Myself: I understand there are a lot of Yankees out here a little way.

Old Chap: I suppose you are one of our men?

Myself: *Certainly* I am.

Old Chap: What road are they on?—

I don't answer promptly, not knowing the names of the roads and thinking perhaps he would continue . . . [when] the report of a gun is heard at the bridge, they turn their heads, giving me an opportunity of taking a French Leave, which I of course was not slow in improving. The occasion of the guns being fired was that some of the Johnies, turning their attention from me, went towards the bridge; one of the[m] seeing a man standing there, thus accosted him: Oh guard! . . . why didn't you answer me when I called you?"

. . . . Replied the guard—throw down that gun!

I'll show you how I'll throw it down! returned the reb, at the same time preparing to fire; but the Yank—for such it

was—was to[o] quick for him—he dropped both his gun and himself.

During the night only part of the town was occupied by our troops; but as soon as daylight came the whole command was moved over and posted on the principal streets leading into the place, where they remained till the next morning [April 5]. In the interval all stores, government houses &c, were given up to indiscriminate plunder; but I heard of no private dwelling houses being disturbed. Nigger[s] of all sorts and sizes and poor whites could be seen from morning till night carying away all manner of dry goods and provisions; salt, which was very scarce among the common people, and which could not be bought by them except with silver, was especially sought, and I think most of them obtained a supply. Safes were broke open by soldiers in search of money and valuables. Confederate scrip was flush and every nigger had his pockets stuffed full of it. I heard of one or [more] heavy hauls of gold being made, but such instances must have been very rare, for those having the precious metal took good care to hide it—knowing the prevailing passion of the Yankees.

Early on the morning of Apr. 5th the command was in motion, recrossed the river and burned the bridge, having previously burned the Military Institute [the University], a large cotton factory, a foundery, two large tanneries, a hat factory &c. After seeing all these things were done, we marched fifteen miles to the [south]westward and camped for the night.

Then came the hardest days march I think I ever made. We started shortly after daylight, marched nearly to Vienna, turned back and did not go into camp till well onto twelve oclock P.M.; it had rained almost incessantly, the mud was very deep, and besides all that the rebel Gen. [Wirt] Adams had been pitching into our rear during the entire afternoon [with his 1500-man mounted brigade]. The 6th Ky. was our rear-guard; they have behaved in a disgraceful manner, sometimes running [in]to each other, and those in the rear calling to those in advance of them to get out of the way, as the rebels were close upon them. Before night they succeeded in losing two ambulances for us, [over thirty casualties,] and their Major commanding [Major William H. Fidler, who

had been captured]; this encouraged the rebels so much that they pressed forward with more determination than ever, and it became necessary to check them. For this purpose the 2nd Mich. was halted in line of battle [near the village of Romulus] and effectually did the work assigned them. As the brave boys of the 6th were going back past us they would call out to each other saying: "We are all right now, the 2d Mich. is here!"

The Johnys advanced on us three different times; the flashes of their guns, in the darkness, often seemed to commingle with our own. They found that the programe had been changed and gave up their undertaking as a bad job. One reb, who had probably overheard the Kentucks, was heard to exclaim: "O God, we've got them 2d Michigans to fight again!"—they knew the regiment of old. After this slight protest on our part, they gave us no more trouble.

The morning of the 9th found us on one of the plantations of John W. P.[1]—he owned seven—who lived 13 mi. from Tuscaloosa, on the Decatur road. The day before our arrival at this place, four of our men had taken $500.00 in silver from Mr. P., which was recovered for him on his reporting the fact to the Gen., and the greater part of which he expended in buying Confederate money of the boys at the rate of one [silver] dollar for one hundred; he intended to use it in paying his taxes. Wonder what he thinks of his investment by this time?

Mr. P. owned over 600 slaves, was very miserly, and was supposed to have several thousand dollars of gold "salted down" in some secure place. Being an Infidel he would not allow his negroes to attend church, nor even to sing and pray in their cabins if he could prevent it; neither would he permit them to be married by a "Squire" or a preacher. Mr. P.'s wife was said to be often jealous of him, because of an undue intimacy on his part with two or three of his colored women. The negroes didn't seem to think the jealous altogether groundless, as there were a number of little mulattoes which strongly resembled their master and were thought by many to be his children.

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[1]The name has been deleted.

The evils of slavery on this plantation present themselves in a forcible manner, and though not equal to those portrayed in "Soliman Northrup" [David Wilson, ed., *Narrative of Solomon Northrup* (Buffalo, N. Y., 1853)] and "Uncle Tom's Cabin," are more nearly so than on any other I have hitherto visited. It was here that 200 negroes who had left their masters, mounted themselves on old horses, and droped into our column, being a clog on our movements, [and] were started in a body without escort for Decatur; we afterwards heard that they had been scattered by guerillas, and it is very doubtful wheather any of them ever reached their destination.

Having left Mr. P.'s our course lay in the direction of Jasper [Croxton having turned northeastward toward Georgia], passing which we turned in an Easterly direction, repaired a bridge over the Black Water, crossed, and continued our march to the Coosa [River], having passed the Sipsy [Sipsey], Mulberry and Little Warrior [forks of the Black Warrior River] by swimming our horses and rowing ourselves and baggage over in canoes. In crossing one of these rivers it was my fortune to have the boat capsize just as it was pushing out from shore, and having my carbine, sabre and 50 rounds of ammunition on my person I found it slightly inconvenient to keep my nose above water until I could get hold of a little sapling which was near by.

All along our march from Mr. P.'s to the Coosa we were continually passing paroled prisoners and stragglers belonging to Forrest's command; all agreed in saying that Forrest had recieved a terrible thrashing at and near Selma [shortly before and during April 2], they said they never saw men fight so like devils as Wilson's did, said they ran right over their works and them without even halting, and that in less than half an hour after our advance came in sight Selma was on fire. They were greatly *demoralized* and had no idea of again returning to the army.

During this part of our campaign it rained a large part of the time, making it very disagreeable marching, it sometimes happening that we didn't go into camp till 10 or 11 p. m. and then [with] supper to be got, tents pitched, horse[s] tended, bed[s] made &c—all in the rain. The people were

generally poor and it frequently required a little head work to get what we wanted to eat. The soil was very much like that I before described, and the timber the same, as a rule. On the Sipsy I observed some fine pine in considerable quantities, and thought a few enterprising Yankees might make a good fortune by erecting sawmills and rafting lumber towards the gulf.

The nicest little adventure I had on this trip happened one day while out with a scouting party. An old planter, having been told by one of his darkies that the Yankees were at a certain place not far distant, and being somewhat in doubt as to Sambo's veracity, concluded to go and see for himself; with this idea in his head he collected a few citizens, paroled prisoners &c, and set out, mounted on their best horses. Our party having halted at a house, it chanced that these Yankee hunters were nearing us on the same road. I, being in the advance, was first to see them as they were turning a short bend in the road; they suddenly checked their horses as I ordered them to halt, and doubtless thinking they had *found* the *Yankees*, as suddenly turned and fled, folowed by a shot from my carbine. My "war horse," not being slow on such occasions, was off after them like a whirlwind, but having seen so much service, was unable to overtake them, although not over 20 rd. [rods] distant. Having pursued them over a mile and a half he checked his course and gave up the chase. Such little incidents as this lend a charm to the soldiers life and are an offset to the monotony of camp life.

Arrived at the Coosa [April 21], it was but a short job to cross the command, [we] having been so fortunate as to capture a chain ferry, in running order. Our regiment was first over and went into camp untill the others had crossed. There it [was] we first heard of the surrender of Lee's army—Apr. 22; at first the report was discredited, but we soon found that it was on the authority of a Nashville paper which contained the official dispatches. This was good news for us of course, and no one hesitated in declaring the war at an end; but notwithstanding [that], the rebel Gen. [Benjamin J.] Hill next day had the impudence to place himself with about 500 men in our path [between Talladega and Blue Mountain, near present-day Anniston] and dispute our progress. The third

batallion of the 2nd Mich. was in the advance, and disposed of the Gen. in such a manner as not to stop our column, and, indeed, it some of the time had to move much faster in order to keep within supporting distance. The rebels would brake as often as they were charged, and they were charged as often as they stood. In two hours time they were scattered through the woods and none were to be found, many throwing away their arms as they ran. Two men of Co. E took their artillery—one piece—and eight men. Hill's entire command might have been captured by throwing a regiment on his flank and rear when the action commenced in the morning.

Co. B after the action was nearly over went back to bury one of their dead men [reportedly, the last soldier on either side to die in open combat during the war][2] and thus got behind the column; in closing up they encountered a little squad of rebels in the village of Oxford, who had collected there after our rearguard had passed through. As they saw our boys coming up the[y] offered to surrender, taking them [Company B of the 2nd] to be the advance of a column; but discovering their mistake, one of them . . . failed in trying to make his escape, [and] was taken and disarmed. Shortly after he attempted to take a carbine from the hands of a soldier who had him in charge and in so doing received three bullets through his body; he stepped firmly aside, sat down,—the blood spirting from his mouth and nose in the meantime—and looking up at one who had shot him, taking him to be an officer, exclaimed, "O Lieut., see what you have done to me," and died. His wife, who happened to be in the place, together with other women, gathered about him uttering loud cries, and calling down the vengeance of a just God on the murderous Yankees.

That night the brigade camped at Blue Mountain, the Northern terminus of the railroad from Talledega [the Alabama and Tennessee Rivers Railroad], having marched 25 mi., destroyed the depot at the latter place, and those at other stations along the road; also, two large founderies, one of which was said by the owner to have been the largest in the United States afternoon.

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[2]Rex Miller, *Croxton's Raid* (Fort Collins, Colo., 1979) p. 80-81.
[the Chocolocco Iron Works, outside Talladega]. But what do you think pleased the boys more than anything else? Whiskey, of course, which was found in abundance during the

The country in the vicinity of Talledega [is] rich and the planters live in large houses. Wilson's raid was the theme of conversation among the people and was conceded to be the most destructive one of the war. There was a rumor among them to the effect that Lee had defeated Grant, inflicting on him a loss of 60,000 men, with a proportionate amount of artillery, wagons, &c.; and also that Johnson [General Joseph E. Johnston] had given [General William T.] Sherman a similar drubing, but I don't beleive they were fools enough to take stock in such reports; if they were, they were doubtless soon convinced of their error.

Remaining at Blue Mountain but one night, the command, after destroying the depot and what quartermaster stores were there, early in the morning [of the 24th] took the back track to Oxford, arrived at which place it turned to the East, and the march was continued without anything occuring worthy of special mention until our arrival at a point 5 mis. from Newnan Ga. During this part of the march only two rivers of note were crossed,—the Tallapoosa and the Chattahoochie [Chattahoochee], the first by means of a bridge, and the second by that of a ferry.

Before entering Newnan a rebel Capt. passed through our lines bearing dispatches to Gen. Hill, who was folowing in our rear, informing him of the Armistace between Johnson and Sherman [signed on April 18]. The Capt. stopped in our camp, talked freely, and gave us all the latest news. Word was sent the Gen. [Croxton] from Newnan that our march through that place would not be opposed. Orders were issued directing that all foraging, except by authorized persons, should cease, no more mules and horses were to be taken, all articles of clothing &c which had been taken from cititzens were to be thrown aside, and things immediately assumed a new aspect. Guards were stationed at a favorable point in the road, and in accordance with orders all negroes excepting one to each commissioned officer were taken from the column as it passed along and were left to shift for themselves, not being allowed to folow the command.

As the head of our column neared Newnan the band struck up one of our national airs, the boy[s] marched in splendid

order, not a man leaving the ranks, and the citizens were treated to a sight which they will long remember. We all enjoyed ourselves, every one feeling that we were on our last campaign and that it was nearly ended; that the object for which we had so long contended was nearly attained, that soon we should lay by our arms and return to our homes and to peaceful employments, each man his own master.

From Newnan we took the direct road [southeast] to Macon. The weather was fine, as it had been for some time past, there was but very little straggling, the rights of citizens were respected and everything went on well. Gen. Hill folowed close in our rear, and from the fact of his having arrested some of our stragglers and sent them up to their command, he was termed our rear-guard. Soldiers from Johnson's army were almost continually passing us on the way to their homes. They gennerally felt well and seemed to be glad that the war was at an end, notwithstanding they had been unsuccessful; some of them were sullen enough and would pass along without looking up, or speaking unless spoken to.

The country was about as level as it is in Wheatland [Michigan] and was all tillable, very different from what we had been accustomed to on the greater part of our march. Roads were good, and for two or three days after leaving the Chattahoochie I noticed that a great deal of izing glass [isinglass] was mixed with the sand so that it glittered under our horses feet like gold.

On the first day of May the brigade arrived at this place and went into camp. Wilson had been here about two weeks, and had heard nothing from our brigad[e], except through rebel sources, since it left him at Elyton. It was supposed that we had been cut to peices and that the remmenant of our force, if indeed there was anything left of it, had escaped to the Tennessee [River]; therefore they were all glad to see us back again. The principal force under Wilson marched about 450 miles, whereas we marched 750 [sic]. . . .

Charles.

AN 1858 VIEW ON HISTORICAL PRESERVATION IN MOBILE

By

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The long-view of history often reveals that problems which beset us today have been faced by our forebears before. An illustration of this truism revolves around historical preservation. Although we of the twentieth century believe that it is our generation which first recognized the value of preserving our material and architectural past, the truth is that earlier generations also deplored the high price which "progress" has often demanded.

An editorial appearing in the Mobile *Weekly Advertiser* for Saturday, April 3, 1858, reads as an epitaph for "An Old Landmark Gone."

"One by one," the editor recalls, "the few remaining traces of our Spanish origin, the landmarks that serve to connect the past generation with the present, and to remind us of the manners, customs and styles of architecture of the original settlers, are being obliterated, and but a short time will elapse before there will not be left a single trace, and the history of the past will be obscured and merely traditional. There now stands, so we are credibly informed, not more than seven or eight buildings that were erected during the Spanish occupancy of Mobile, and one of the few has now been torn down to make way for the tide of improvement which moves so bravely on. These thoughts were suggested upon witnessing the demolition of an old house that stood on the south side of Conti street, a few doors above St. Emanuel street.

"It was erected in the beginning of the year 1811, by Dr. Rafael,[1] and was at that time one of the handsomest, if not

[1]Presumably, Dr. Rafael Hidalgo (or Idalgo, Ydalgo, etc.), who held the post of "Practicante Mayor del Real Hospital de la Movila y encargado de la Botica del mismo" (Chief Medic Practitioner of the Royal Hospital of Mobile and Director of the Hospital Pharmacy). His service record and pay sheets are in Archivo General de Indias (Sevilla, Spain), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo 538-a.

the handsomest residence in the city. It was built partly of brick and partly of wood, the front plastered over in imitation of stone, one and a half stories high, and was for a number of years occupied as the residence of Dr. Rafael, surgeon of the garrison at Fort Charlotte. The foundation was laid in brick and cement, and so closely do the materials now adhere to each other that is with much difficulty that they can be broken apart in pieces small enough to be carted away. After the Territory passed into the hands of the United States government,[2] the house was purchased for a small sum, and has since been occupied as a fruit store, shoe store, and occasionally as a residence at a trifling rent. When erected it was in the outskirts of town.

"The old frame buildings on the two corners above, and that opposite the old Armory, were erected previously. From them some idea of the appearance of Mobile in 1811 may be formed.

"In the place of the one torn down, its present owner contemplated the erection of a two-story edifice, the lower part of which will be fitted up for stores, the upper part for residences, somewhat after the style of those on the opposite side of the street."

As swiftly as the Spanish dominion passed the reins of government to that of the United States, so, too, the older architecture fell into decay, not to be resurrected until innumerable buildings were lost forever. Surely, this experience has a lesson for us all. The time to push for historical preservation is while we still have something historical to preserve.

On June 16, 1797, Dr. Hidalgo purchased a lot cornering on St. Charles and Government Streets from Joseph Chastang. The lot measured 12 toises frontage by 20 toises depth and sold for $20. See Mobile Probate Court Records, Translated Spanish Records, I, 195-196.

[2]American forces under General James Wilkinson followed U.S. orders that Mobile was part of the Louisiana Purchase and, therefore, was already American territory in 1813. On Wilkinson's mock-heroic capture of Fort Carlota from Spanish forces under Captain Cayetano Perez, see Jack D.L. Holmes, "The Mobile *Gazette* and the American Occupation of Mobile in 1813: A Lesson in Historical Detective Work," *Journal of the Alabama Academy of Science*, XLVII, No. 2 April, 1976), 79-86.

BOOK REVIEW

Jody Carlson, *George C. Wallace and the Politics of Powerlessness: The Wallace Campaigns for the Presidency, 1964-1976.* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Book, 1981. Pp. xv, 331. $22.95)

While this work is not the first to examine George C. Wallace and his politics, Jody Carlson's study apparently marks the first published attempt by a scholar to evaluate critically the Wallace movement in a comprehensive fashion. Toward this end she focuses upon Wallace's presidential campaigns between 1964 and 1976, employing quantitative tools and traditional research techniques. For each campaign she presents a historical narrative, a comparison of Wallace supporters with those of other candidates, and an analysis of Wallace's public messages. On the whole she does a creditable job in outlining the main contours of the campaigns, but certain problems mar the overall quality of the volume.

During the 1960's, Wallace emerged as the dominant political figure in Alabama and became prominent in regional and natural politics as well. Over the course of two decades he captured the governorship of Alabama three times in his own right and guided the successful gubernatorial campaign of his wife in 1966. On the national level he was the effective spokesman of a fanatically loyal constituency that hovered near 20 percent of the American electorate for several years. Beginning in 1964, Wallace helped define the issues addressed in presidential elections and eventually other candidates began to echo him on issues such as law-and-order in 1968 and busing in 1972. In the process, emphasizes Carlson, the political spectrum shifted to the right, but the mantle of political legitimacy eluded Wallace. Ultimately, this respectibility fell upon another Deep South governor, Jimmy Carter of Georgia, whose victory over Wallace in the Florida Democratic primary of 1976 helped catapult him into the White House.

Using attitudinal and demographic data gathered during each campaign, the author tests several theories to explain the Wallace constituency and presents a wealth of information regarding it and the American electorate in general. Although

the data base is at times inadequate for her purposes, especially in the 1972 analysis, Carlson offers a provacative interpretation. Those who supported Wallace, she argues, felt powerless to alter the growth of the federal government or change its policies, which to their way of thinking catered to the unreasonable demands of minorities, the poor, and special interests. By supporting Wallace they symbolically protested the course of public policy in the United States.

Besides the limitations of the data base, Carlson's failure to analyze Wallace with a discerning probe seriously undermines her work. She simply dismisses Wallace as a racist "opportunist" who "had little to offer" in the way of a positive program designed for the needs of his followers (pp. 277-78). Perhaps her assessment rings true for the man and his proposals at the national level, albeit the generalization primarily rests upon a meager examination of the governor's public pronouncements. Certainly at the state level the evidence points in another direction, indicating that social conservatism in matters of race cannot, by itself, account for Wallace's phenomenal political success. Other factors, including his personal moral rectitude, a progressive legislative program, and skillful attention to the many nuances of grass-roots politics won this southern folk-politcian many ardent supporters. Unfortunately, Carlson's cursory review of Wallace's role in Alabama politics does not broaden her perspective of the governor, and her book suffers as a result.

This book will probably be widely read, since it deals with one of the most astute politicians of the twentieth century. To approach it with high expectations, however, is to invite disappointment. Besides the reservations already noted, the book is not entirely free of minor factual errors. Carlson asserts, for example, that as governor Wallace "placed all liquor stores under the auspices of a state system" (p. 68), and that as a presidential candidate in 1972 he almost threw the election into the House of Representatives (p.xi). Matters of organization and style may disconcert some readers as well. Still, if read with care, the volume will be useful to those who are interested in this controversial politician and the trans-regional movement he spearheaded.

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Joseph G. Dawson III. *Army Generals and Reconstruction; Louisiana, 1862-1877.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982. pp. xiii, 294.)

Reconstruction lasted longer in Louisiana than in any other state. For fifteen years, from 1862 to 1877, the state served as a laboratory for social experimentation and as a political arena for the national disagreements concerning the nature of Reconstruction. Of necessity, the vital role of insuring peace and stability during the period fell to the military. As its title makes clear, *Army Generals and Reconstruction* is a study of the role of the military in Reconstruction Louisiana.

The generals had a difficult problem. For one thing, the only previous experience the military had as an occupying force was in Mexico and the Mexican Cession after the Mexican War. That occupation had been brief and free of the controversies which dominated Reconstruction. Once established, a policy remained for the duration. In contrast, during and after the Civil War the generals had to adjust as Radicals, Moderates, and Conservatives defined and redefined the nature of Reconstruction and the status of the former Confederacy. As the political winds shifted, the generals gained or lost powers, responsibilities, and options. Stability was scarce in Reconstruction Louisiana.

Compounding the difficulty of rebuilding the state was the lack of consistent leadership from the generals. During the 1860s generals came and went with a frequency reminiscent of Mexico after independence. Seemingly every six months the command passed to a new man. Some of the generals tried to accommodate local sentiment, and others pursued a harsh line in the Radical mode. A few tried to strike a balance between the two. And of course the abilities of the various commanders were of different types and qualities.

Not only was Louisiana affected by inconsistency in Washington politicians and in its local commanders, but the state also endured the difficulty of reconstituting its political system without sure knowledge of what was expected and in the face of opposition from its own unreconstructed element. Finally the state began to achieve stability in the 1870s. By then

Northern apathy induced a reduction in the number of troops and the powers of the generals within the borders of the state. The final factor in the ending of Reconstruction in Louisiana was the pivotal role of the state in the election of 1876.

Despite the difficulties of the period, Reconstruction was not a disaster in Louisiana. According to Dawson, in an extremely complicated situation the generals consistently did as much as was possible, occasionally more. Admittedly, Louisiana might have been better served; there were errors made on all levels during the fifteen-year period. Neverthelss, the role of the generals was, on the whole, beneficial.

Dawson has provided a significant contribution to Reconstruction historiography. His treatment is balanced, scholarly, and highly readable. Although the general reader, especially in the South, might reject some of Dawson's conclusions, there can be little argument against the extensive documentation in *Army Generals and Reconstruction.* Both Dawson and the Louisiana State University Press deserve a commendation for the quality of their work.

STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA J. Herschel Barnhill

Dwight D. Eisenhower and the School Desegregation Crisis, A Moderate Among Extremists. By James C. Duram. (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981. xiv + 306 pp. Notes, bibliography, and index.) $20.95 Cloth, $9.95 Paper.

Monographs sometimes attempt to seduce the ingenuous with titles that imply more than a restricted exploration of arcane territory. Conversely, the scope of *Dwight D. Eisenhower and the School Desegregation Crisis* extends beyond the canvass suggested by its appellation. This volume does examine, at length, the Eisenhower administration's reaction to the school desegregation crisis, analyzing the president's responses to the first *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court's 1955 implementation ruling, southern intransigence, the Little Rock crisis, and the legislative struggles that culminated in the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. To varying degrees, James Duram also illuminates several other components of the Eisenhower administration, including press relations, the hierarchy among

advisers, the president's assumptions about constitutional and political imperatives, and the distance between the public's image of "Ike" and his true self. In addition, an informative, legal history of segregated education in America from the 1849 *Roberts v. City of Boston* case to the judicial atmosphere of the early 1950s precedes discussion of the Warren Court.

Soon after the Supreme Court declared segregated schools unconstitutional, a reporter asked the president if he wished to counsel the South; Eisenhower replied, "Not in the slightest" (p. 110). Despite his public reticence, Eisenhower, asserts Duram, emphathized with the desire of black Americans to eradicate the injustice of segregation. The president privately told his press secretary, "I guess the only way you can realize exactly how they feel is to have a black skin for several weeks" (p. 112). Yet philosophical and political restraints prevented Eisenhower from expressing public approval of the *Brown* decision. The president, argues Duram, sincerely believed that to express publicly either agreement or disagreement with a Supreme Court ruling would create an unfortunate precedent, implying that the chief executive might not fully enforce judicial decisions he opposed. Moreover, Eisenhower's restricted view of the scope of federal powers, a preference for incremental progress on the local level over coercion, optimism about the influence of Southern moderates, and fear that a rejection of gradualism would stir destructive emotions formed a prophylactic against more forceful presidential stratagems. Although Duram acknowledges Eisenhower's gradualist approach to school desegregation proved modest in its effectiveness, the author implies that, given the complexity of the issues, alternative approaches may have fared no better. Certainly Eisenhower's devotion to the "middle way" (p. 54) never wavered.

Unfortunately, Duram's central thesis, Eisenhower was a moderate amid extremists, is flawed both empirically and theoretically. The author fails to define moderation and extremism with adequate clarity. Amorphous concepts spawn flaccid analysis. Given Eisenhower's own difficulties in comprehending Barry Goldwater's 1964 employment of the terms "moderation" and "extremism," one might have expected Duram to provide meaning for his terms within an acknowledged

ideological context. Instead, Duram implies that the presence of antagonists to the political left and right of Eisenhower and the president's own consistency provide exidence of moderation. As for the latter, Emerson properly viewed it, if adhered to without pragmatic leavening, as evidence of folly, rather than a moderation. And the former reveals more about Duram's positioning of the polarities than it does about the appropriateness of designating Eisenhower a centrist. In discussing the implementation of the *Brown* decision, Duram suggests that the NAACP and southern obstructionists were equally provocative:

> . . . the middle ground between the NAACP and the southern states . . . was a plausible position . . . the real strength of the middle position came from . . . The decision of the Eisenhower administration to support a gradual approach to school desegregation . . . (p. 104).

Since within a few years militants demonstrated that black frustration extended well beyond the NAACP's agenda of grievances, Eisenhower and his chronicler may well have mistaken moderates for extremists. Subsequent history indicates that Eisenhower, influenced by J. Edgar Hoover, harbored unrealistic fears about the ability of Communists to exploit the civil rights movement.

Despite the preceding caveat, Duram is shrewd and insightful when analyzing phenomena other than the taxonomy of ideologies. His impressive research in the papers of the Eisenhower Presidential Library, government documents, oral history, and germane secondary sources allows Duram to provide seminal insights into the personalities, assumptions, and process of decision-making that shaped the Eisenhower administration. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. and other practitioners of Camelot historiography facilely dismiss Eisenhower as a politcal incompetent who occupied the fairways of indifference while presiding over a crusade of inactivity. In contrast, revisionists, led by Herbert Parmet and Charles Alexander, appalled by an imperial presidency that produced Vietnam and Watergate, too quickly genuflect before Eisenhower's restraint and caution. More fully than any previous historian, Duram acknowledges the nuances and complexities of the Eisenhower

personality and administration. *Dwight D. Eisenhower and the School Desegration Crisis* suggests that many more monographs on specific aspects of the Eisenhower administration must precede sophisticated synthesis and definitive commentary about the era. As historians build on Duram's foundations, they will do well to emulate his high standards of scholarship.

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FROM THAT TERRIBLE FIELD: CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF JAMES M. WILLIAMS, TWENTY-FIRST ALABAMA INFANTRY VOLUNTEERS. Edited by John Kent Folmar (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1981. Maps and Illustrations, Preface, Notes, and Index. Pp. xvi, 187) $18.95.

The literary woods are full of volumes of Civil War letters and diaries that probably should never have been published. Many of them turgidly prove that the life of the average Civil War soldier was incredibly boring, as generations of scholars have learned. Nearly everyone who has attempted scholarly writing or editorial work in the Civil War period knows well the tedium of searching through the letters of common soldiers for some usable material.

To these hardy souls and other, the letters of Lieutenant Colonel James Madison Williams of the Twenty-first Alabama Infantry are a welcome respite. Written to his beloved wife Eliza Jane Rennison Williams (whom he affectionately called Lizzie) from October 1861 to May 1865, Williams' correspondence offers keen insight into the machinations of mid-level command problems in the Confederacy. Although Williams' primary service was in the defense of Mobile, he participated in the 1862 Shiloh-Corinth-Tupelo scenario and surrendered with Richard Taylor in May 1865.

Williams' letters bear little resemblance to the "Today we had dress parade" missives of soldiers in the lower ranks. He was literate and perceptive; so, apparently, was his wife

or else Williams would have not gone into such detail about military matters and other aspects of his Confederate service. Unlike many other spouses, Mrs. Williams was able to spend some time with her husband during the war, once spending seven months with him while he was at Oven Bluff on the lower Tombigbee. The length and frequency of his correspondence to her during their periods of wartime separation, as well as the fact that he sent for her whenever suitable quarters were available, indicate considerable marital affection.

Williams' otherwise exemplary career was marred by a court-martial for his conduct in the defense of Fort Powell during David Farragut's assault on the Mobile defenses in August 1864. Acquitted by a military court, Williams nevertheless endured considerable scorn from his superiors for some time following the incident before being restored to command in late 1864.

Professor John Kent Folmar has done an outstanding piece of editorial work. His notes are copious and lucid, conveniently located at the end of the book. The volume is also remarkably error free. Except for the inadvertent placing of Corinth in "northwestern" Mississippi (p. xiv) and a map which mysteriously locates Fort Henry in Kentucky (p. 44), few errors of any significance exist. The work is attractive, scholarly, and a credit to both its editor and the University of Alabama Press. Civil War buffs and scholars should welcome its publication.

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Melton A. McLaurin and Michael V. Thomason. *The Image of Progress: Alabama Photographs, 1872-1917.* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1980). pp. 220, Preface, Introduction, Bibliography, Index. $19.95.

The Image of Progress is a work of considerable value. Melton A. McLaurin and Michael V. Thomason have assembled over two hundred photographs which, arranged topically, touch upon many aspects of life in the late nineteenth century—industry, agriculture, transportation, religion, education, social affairs, and race relations. The authors are expert in the

care of photographic documents; hence their images, developed from original glass negatives, are sharp and detailed. Likewise, *The Image of Progress* represents a great deal of impressive research. Two of the major sources (the Auburn University Archives Collection and the Erik Overby Collection at the University of South Alabama) contain more than 130,000 negatives between them, and it is no exaggeration to say that the authors searched the nation for material. It is true that views of Mobile, Birmingham, and other business and industrial centers dominate the book, but McLaurin and Thomason were limited by the scarcity of rural sources, and by their own preoccupation with the expansion of urban society in Alabama.

The Image of Progress is no mere album of faces; one of its merits is that it captures so many unposed scenes, full of motion and arresting figures. Today, city streets are inhospitable drag strips, but at the turn of the century—as numerous shots taken in Alabama towns prove—streets were thoroughfares on which pedestrians, messenger boys, vendors, wagons, trolleys, and low-slung electric cables competed for space. Fatalities were as common then as now, but our great-grandparents were not intimidated by their own pavements. Nor, judging by their appearance, were these Alabamians intimated by poverty, primitive conditions, or grinding physical labor. They were photographed, for the most part, in the middle of work; they seem, not necessarily happy, but thoroughly at home. Some of the pictures are memorable reflections of the human spirit: a knot of girls in a cotton mill, strong, pretty, and rather defiant; a carefully dressed black man, one hand on his hound, the other holding a rabbit-eared shotgun; two grinning, Penrodian clerks in a drug store. As the authors state, these images convey the reality of that time "in ways words alone cannot manage."

McLaurin and Thomason attempt to interpret the New South in words as well as with photographs, and thereby raise a number of questions. Specifically, they openly avoid the controversial subject of politics, even though contests between agrarian reformers and Bourbon Democrats formed a major part of late nineteenth century public culture. In seeking to imitate "the photographers' acceptance of the world as they

found it," McLaurin and Thomason take sides, in effect, with the victorious Democratic conservatives, and they do so without significant comment as to the availability of political-photographic sources.

A more serious shortcoming of *The Image of Progress* concerns the very title of the book. In their introduction, the authors outline the economic woes endured by Alabamians during the New South era: declining crop prices, a rising rate of tenancy, a remorseless credit system, and capital-poor industry. Farm life was all too often characterized by hopelessness and isolation; city workers traded a higher standard of living for unsafe shops and fear of unemployment. "Compounding the problem," observe McLaurin and Thomason, "was the Southerners' sense of inferiority, heightened by defeat, which led them to cling even more tenaciously to an idealized past while seeking full partnership in America's present and future." Materially and psychologically, Alabama carried her scars, though life for many Alabamians was meaningful and rich in spirit. Yet wherein, judged by the standards of this book, was the period 1872-1917 a time of progress?

Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr. *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans 1812-1815.* Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. 255 pp. $20.

The War of 1812 is a peculiarly awkward episode in American history. The United States fought to uphold the pacific rights of neutrals, attempted to conquer Canada, and barely succeeded in defending its own soil against British invaders. Historians now recognize that the conflict was inspired by American expansionist ambitions, but few realize that some of those ambitions were, in fact, achieved. Success crowned American arms in Alabama and on the Gulf Coast; the victims of our aggression were hapless Indians and neutral Spaniards. Professor Larry Owsley, of Auburn University, has focussed a spotlight on that aspect of the war, and it is brilliantly illuminating.

Another book on Andy Jackson, Horseshoe Bend, and the

battle of New Orleans might seem superfluous, but Owsley has combed the tangle of printed accounts, searched the manuscript collections of all the participants, and has fine-chiselled a mountain of evidence into an exceptionally concise narrative and thorough analysis of the struggle for the Gulf borderlands. By linking the campaigns in Alabama and Louisiana he has demonstrated the rational development of events and their logical historical culmination—a unique and highly valuable achievement, a fascinating tale.

For all parties, space and distance were the critical factors. The survival of the Indians depended upon space, but their American conquerors overcame distances that stretched supply lines to the breaking point. Spanish West Florida's isolation put her at the mercy of everyone. Not even the Royal Navy could span the leagues between Whitehall and Chalmette.

As in all wars, the concentration of overwhelming force was decisive. The Red Sticks achieved it at Fort Mims, the Americans at Horseshoe Bend and many another bloody field in the Creek War. The result was massacre: twenty redmen for one white at Autosse, forty for the price of one at Tallushatchee, and no one counted the women and children who died as a result of the scorched earth policy pursued by the triumphant Americans. The story was no different at Mobile or Pensacola, except that civilized Europeans bowed gracefully (or withdrew rapidly) in the face of crushing odds.

Other considerations also weighed. Owsley drives home the point that the action at Fort Mims exhausted the Creeks' offensive capacity; thereafter their shortage of powder and shot reduced them to near impotence. Spain could not provide for them, and British supplies came too late—even assuming the survivors had any fight left in them. The psychological aspects of the war are also intriguing. American hysteria turned isolated murders into massacres long before Fort Mims; a handful of runaway blacks raised the spectre of genocidal warfare; and the poor Red Sticks imagined themselves divinely protected.

As for the British, their performance was unimpressive The utility of Indian allies was no more than a oft-recurring dream. The first attack on Mobile was badly planned, worse

carried out. Cochrane's decision to strike directly at New Orleans was arguably correct, but to do so without proper shipping and without the element of surprise was folly. Pakenham compounded every mistake and paid dearly. As for the "unlimited mobility" of the Royal Navy (whose great ships were strung out at anchor from Dauphin Island to Cat Island), it ended in the shallow waters of Lake Borgne, as it would have in the mud-flats of Mobile Bay. Owsley makes it clear that Jackson was never in great danger of defeat by an enemy confronting him; his genius lay in overcoming the problems of distance, supply, local inertia; in providing decisive and inspirational leadership—quite enough to raise him above his contemporaries.

Owsley's carefully balanced presentation of all sides of the story leaves little unsaid. He explores virtually every option and alternative facing his principals, and he fairly weighs (and frequently qualifies) the contributions of the many scholars who have preceeded him. His will not be the last word on the Creek War and the battle of New Orleans, for they are part of the lore of this region; but his work will be a necessary guide to all who follow him. They will find little to add and much to be grateful for.

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